In the East Africa War Zone

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.4

THE INTERNMENT CAMP AT TABORA

(Indian Prisoners with Water Cart)[1]

IN THE EAST AFRICA WAR ZONE

By
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CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
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To

all the many friends, known and unknown, who were praying for the missionaries of the German East Africa Mission during the time of their imprisonment, this little book is gratefully dedicated

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IN THE EAST AFRICA WAR ZONE

CHAPTER I

THINGS NEW AND OLD

THE present is perhaps a peculiarly suitable time for calling attention to that part of the Dark Continent known as German East Africa.

A break of three years and more has occurred in the continuity of almost everything belonging to its past history. Much of what existed prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, whether potential for good or for evil, will be sought in vain in the new era which the future has in store for that protectorate.

It is, therefore, not out of place to take stock, as it were, of what the Church of Christ has achieved in this region in the years which now lie behind us, and strive to get new vision and fresh inspiration for that unknown future upon which we are about to enter.

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The German protectorate in 1914 took in the southern half of the Victoria Nyanza and the whole of Mount Kilima Njaro. Its western boundary was Lake Tanganyika, which divided it from the Belgian Congo, and on the south it bordered on Portuguese East Africa, Lake Nyasa, and Nyasaland or British Central Africa. In extent it was

about twice the size of Germany. The population has been estimated at 8,000,000, but is probably very much larger.

Along the coast there is a low-lying strip of littoral which, though generally very unhealthy for Europeans, is exceedingly fertile. In many places rubber and other plantations have been established. Farther inland the country is hilly and sometimes mountainous until the tableland of the interior is reached. This has an elevation of some 3000 feet, while in some parts of Uhehe and of Ruanda, as well as in the region of the Livingstone mountains, the plateau attains an elevation of from 6000 to 9000 feet.

The names of some of God's most honoured missionary servants have been connected with the past history of this portion of Africa. That of Alexander Mackay is generally associated with the Uganda Mission; yet two years of his early missionary life were spent in what afterwards became German East Africa. One of his earliest engineering efforts was the cutting of a wagon road through the dense African forest from Saadani, on the east coast opposite Zanzibar, to Mpwapwa, more than 200 miles inland on the caravan route to Uganda. Compelled by illness to drop out of the first missionary party as it travelled to Uganda, he employed his time in smoothing the way for the next party. His hope was that he might thus open up a highway into Central Africa, and, by substituting the ox wagon for the native porter as a means of transport, strike a blow at the age-long use of slave labour.

He was before his time in this respect, and his road, wonderful as the achievement was in view of his scanty resources, could not be kept in repair. Not a vestige of it now remains.

German East Africa is rich also in association with the early explorers, such as Livingstone, Speke, Grant, Cameron, and Stanley, whose intrepid perseverance and self-sacrifice resulted in the splendid discoveries which thrilled not only British hearts but all Europe. Speke gave his name to a gulf on the south of the Victoria Nyanza.

It was at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, that Stanley met Livingstone, and at Tabora that they parted, Stanley returning to Europe and civilization, Livingstone going back to complete his exploration round Tanganyika. Not long afterwards Livingstone was found by his native "boy" dead on his knees by his bedside in the small hut which served him for a home, even with his last breath pleading, we may believe, for East Africa.

One may well ask how a land full of such tender and sacred memories for Englishmen became a German colony. It is beyond question that British influence was first in the field. About 1830 the Arabs had begun to penetrate inland, and by 1850 they had established themselves on the mainland as far west as Ujiji on the Tanganyika. The Sultan of Zanzibar claimed the whole of this part as his empire. In 1870, Bargash, who was then Sultan, offered Sir William Mackinnon a lease of all his mainland territory, but this offer was declined by the British Government. British influence, however, continued so powerful that the German Colonization Society, when seeking in 1884 to secure "a place in the sun" in East Africa, deemed it prudent to act secretly, so that Great Britain and Zanzibar might be confronted with established facts.

Three Germans, Carl Peters, Joachin Count Pfeil, and Doctor Jüklke, concluded a treaty in November, 1884, with a chieftain in Usambara whom they chose to regard as independent of Zanzibar. Other treaties followed, and the German Emperor granted a charter of protection to the Colonization Society. These territorial acquisitions by Germany were resented by Zanzibar, but the British Government acquiesced in them. Eventually the Sultan was forced to acknowledge their validity, and to grant to this German company a lease of his mainland territories from the Umba River in the north as far as the Rovuma River in the south. A British company, formed by Mackinnon in 1888, converted the territory north of that point into what is now called British East Africa.

On 16 August, 1888, the German company took over the

administration of the mainland from the Arabs. Five days later there occurred a revolt against the German rule, owing to the harsh methods employed and the tactless way in which things were done. The German officials are said to have disregarded entirely the susceptibilities of the Mohammedans living in these coast towns, even going the length, in Lindi and Kilwa and other places, of walking through the harems and looking at the women living in them.

This first rising against German domination in East Africa was too big a business for the company to cope with. Captain Wissmann was therefore sent from Germany by Prince Bismarck and given the position of Imperial Commissioner. With the help of a thousand Sudanese and a German naval contingent the revolt was crushed and German power established on the mainland.

One of the Arab leaders in this revolt, named Bushire, after he was defeated at the coast, retreated inland as far as Mpwapwa, where he first sacked a trading station owned by the German company, and afterwards burnt the C.M.S. mission station. The country was for a time in a disturbed state, and the roads were unsafe for Europeans, but eventually Bushire was caught and executed, and the country settled down again.

On 28 October, 1890, the Sultan of Zanzibar, for a consideration (£200,000), ceded absolutely to Germany the mainland territory already leased to the German company. German rule was extended farther and farther inland by force of arms, almost the last tribe to hold out against it being the Wahehe, who in 1891 ambushed and almost annihilated a German military force of 350 men under Baron Zelewski. On 1 January, 1897, the country was constituted a colony by proclamation, and by 1898 German dominion was established all over the country.

In the light of subsequent events, which could not of course be foreseen in 1870, one cannot help regretting that England did not find herself able to respond to Sultan Bargash's offer of all his mainland territories, so keeping

the Germans altogether out of East Africa. But Britain had already taken up a very large share of the "white man's burden." Just then she was fully occupied in Egypt and the Sudan, and Bismarck's covert hint that German non-intervention in that direction was to be purchased by concessions elsewhere probably explains why the British Government agreed to the acquisition by Germany of an East African colony. After all, until the experiment was tried, the utter failure of Germany as a colonial power could not have been manifested; but now that she has shown her true colours, and we have seen what her treatment of subject races can be, it is surely unthinkable that she should be allowed again to lord it over these helpless natives. If such a thing were to happen, which God forbid, then unless there were some great change in German attitude towards native races the world would once again have "an open sore" comparable only with the slave traffic of which Livingstone wrote.

CHAPTER II

THINGS PLEASANT AND UNPLEASANT

EAST Africa has many points of interest for the European, and perhaps not least among these is the wonderful variety of animal life found there. The big game which once roamed the South African veldt, but is now a thing of the past in that region, is still abundant all over East Africa. Its plains teem with gazelle, zebra, and such species of antelope as feed on the varied herbage, while the forests are inhabited notably by both the greater and lesser koodoo, which prefer the seedpods and young leaves of the trees to the grass of the plains. The stately giraffe abounds, whose great height and long neck enable him to browse on the flat tops of the tallest mimosa; while in the moister localities both the sable and roan antelope

as well as water-buck are found, and in some parts the wild buffalo.

The elephant is common, and even in thickly populated districts, such as Ugogo, a herd of these will frequently come at night and steal the water-melons stored on the flat roofs of the native houses. Or again, a party of natives, travelling by night through a waterless tract of country to avoid the heat by day, will often have to run from a prowling rhinoceros, whose strong sense of smell gives it unfair advantage in the darkness. There is also no lack of lions, leopards, cheetahs, and hyenas, as the native herdmen know to their cost.

Snakes abound everywhere in endless variety, from the small harmless grass snake to the powerful python. Perhaps the most deadly of these are the puff adder and the black cobra, the latter being particularly plentiful in Ugogo.

The lesser worries are also not to be despised or lightly passed over, such as scorpions, centipedes, biting ants, and that horried little insect which, though least in size, is by no means so in annoyance, the jigger or sand-flea. It gets into the toes and feet generally, and seems particularly fond of the toe-nail, burrowing under it and laying its eggs there, causing intense irritation and often a nasty sore.

The mimosa tree is found nearly everywhere in German East Africa. It is usually low and stunted in growth, very often with a flat or umbrella-shaped top, giving the plain or low hills more the character of "bush" than of forest. In the coast districts and round about Mount Kilima Njaro the vegetation is luxuriant and tropical, while on some of the mountain tops and near the rivers there are fine stretches of forest with magnificent trees.

Perhaps the most characteristic tree of the district in which the C.M.S. sphere lies is the baobab. In the long dry season it is like a great rock in a weary land, as its huge trunk, from twelve to twenty feet in diameter, often affords the only shade a traveller can get when he has to camp in the parched and sunburnt bush. This tree is in many ways most useful to the natives. The fruit

consists of an outer shell, full of seeds which are enclosed in a pithy substance having a pleasant acid flavour. This is eaten by the natives, and in times of famine is often their only food for long periods. The tree itself is fibrous rather than woody, and from it the natives make their rope and string. The immense trunk has holes in it and is often quite hollow, and wild bees deposit their honey within it, sometimes in such quantities that the natives find them veritable storehouses of sweetness. Occasionally, too, the traveller finds in this tree a natural water tank which fills up in the rains, and remains after the country around is all dried up. Another use—one not quite so pleasant—to which the baobab is put when it happens to be conveniently near to a village is that of a sepulchre. A whole family will bury their dead in such a place, and it is always as well, before selecting the shade of one near a dwelling, to make sure that it is not being used for this uncanny purpose.

The natives of the coast districts spring either from that mixture of the Arab and African which is called Swahili, or from those who are, or who were once, their slaves; and they all speak the Swahili language. Besides these, there are a good many pure Arabs, who for the most part come from Muscat, and a still larger number of Indians who are generally shopkeepers. The African tribes in the immediate vicinity of the coast are weak numerically, and there is a wide belt of very thinly populated forest-land; but farther inland more powerful tribes are encountered, such as the Wahehe and Wasangu in the south, and the Wagogo, Wanyamwezi, and Wasukuma in the centre and to the west.

The sphere of the C.M.S. Mission in German East Africa embraces the whole of the country of the Wakaguru and Wagogo tribes. It begins about 150 miles inland from Saadani, Bagamoyo, and Dar-es-salam, and covers an area of about 300 miles from east to west and 150 miles from north to south. It is divided into two unequal parts by two tribes, the Wakaguru, the smaller, occupying the

eastern, and the Wagogo the western part of the Mission. Their languages, though both belonging to the Bantu family, are quite distinct, and separate translations of the Scriptures have to be made.

The countries inhabited by the Wakaguru and Wagogo respectively differ widely. Ukaguru is a land of mountains and valleys, well watered and with plenty of fine forest land; Ugogo, on the contrary, consists of wide plains, in many parts quite denuded of any trees except the ubiquitous baobab, which is too big for the natives to cut down when clearing the ground for their cornfields. The rivers of Ugogo are only worthy of the name for a few hours after a heavy storm; at other times they are just wide stretches of yellow sand. All through the long dry season of eight months' duration, the country gets parched and bleached by the sun until the whole landscape as far as the eye can reach appears to be hoary, as though it had suddenly grown old. Yet this seemingly uninviting country produces during the short rainy season of three or four months more than enough millet to satisfy the needs of its teeming population, together with an abundance of excellent grass for immense herds of cattle.

The natives of Ukaguru are almost exclusively agricultural, but the Wagogo divide their time about equally between their fields and their cattle—or rather, while the women look after the fields the men attend to the animals.

African tribes are generally distinguished by their customs, and although these two have some in common they have others which are quite distinct. Circumcision is an established institution both in Ugogo and Ukaguru, and tribes like the Wanyamwezi and Wahehe who do not practise it are for that reason looked down upon by the Wagogo and Wakaguru, much as the uncircumcised Philistine was despised by the Israelite. Among other distinctive customs may be mentioned the distension of the lobe of the ear, after it has been perforated, until a round piece of wood six inches in diameter, or even at times a large jar or enamelled cup, can be worn in it as an ear orna-

ment. The Wagogo brand all their children in infancy with a red-hot iron in the centre of the forehead. This is their tribal mark. They also extract the two front teeth in the bottom jaw so as to leave a gap. This latter custom seems to point to a former prevalence of tetanus in this region, as the reason they give for doing it is that, should they get lockjaw, they can be fed through this hole in their teeth. In at least one district in Ugogo tetanus is still rather common. So general among the people is the custom of extracting these two front teeth that if a skeleton is found in the forest, their presence or absence in the skull establishes at once, to the satisfaction of every one, whether or no the dead man was a Mugogo.

The styles of hairdressing, especially among the men, are weird and wonderful. They affect long hair, and as their own is naturally short and woolly, they lengthen it by plaiting into it fibre from the baobab tree. The whole head is rubbed full of a kind of pigment made of red ochre and rancid butter, mixed to the consistency of paint. The hair is then made up into a pigtail by binding it round with a strip of hide, a short piece of stick being inserted at the end to make it stiff. Over the whole is generally worn a kind of helmet made from the skin of one of the smaller antelope, or, more commonly still, from the stomach of a goat. This "tripe cap," after being treated with ochre and grease until it resembles a piece of red morocco, is tied securely down under the chin. The young dandies are so vain that they even sleep in their caps to prevent their *coiffure* from being disarranged during the night, as when once the head is made up in this way it is expected not to need attention for some weeks.

Copper and iron chains are worn round the neck by the men as well as by the women, and the latter wear coils of wire on the legs and arms, the lower limbs being in some cases so covered with metal that it looks almost impossible for the women to walk about. Large and painful sores are often caused by this wire, but no one thinks of

taking it off on that account, the sufferer merely inserting a green leaf between the metal and the raw flesh to keep it from rubbing.

In Ukaguru twin babies, and also those who cut their upper teeth first, are considered most unlucky, and are undoubtedly for the most part put out of the way by some means or other. In Ugogo this infanticide is not practised, but infant mortality is very high on account of the prevalence of feeding the babies from birth onwards with millet porridge. It is the universal opinion that even a tiny baby cannot derive sufficient nourishment from the mother alone. As a consequence, it is quite a common thing to find a woman who has had as many as twelve children, of whom only three or four have survived. One woman, when a missionary remonstrated with her for feeding a new-born babe on badly cooked porridge, replied : " Don't I know how to bring up children ? Haven't I had twelve ? " When asked how many of these were alive, she said the baby in question made three ! The method employed by a mother in feeding a baby with this porridge is more satisfactory from her point of view than from the infant's. She puts the child on its back on her lap, grasping its head firmly between her knees. The porridge stands by her side, and she puts large handfuls of it into the baby's mouth, pressing it in from time to time with her fingers. This goes on, in spite of cries of protest, until the child visibly swells, and the mother is satisfied that it has had enough ; whereupon the mother removes what is left of the porridge from the child's face, and cleans it up generally with her tongue in very much the same way as a cat licks her kittens.

CHAPTER III

THINGS REAL AND UNREAL

THE idea of a Supreme Being is undoubtedly found throughout East Africa, and is distinctly present among the Wagogo and Wakaguru. He is regarded as the Creator and Ruler of the universe, the Being Who ultimately decides everything, and from Whom there is no appeal. The Wagogo speak of Him as "Mulungu," and some form of the same word is used by most of the other tribes. Sometimes the meaning of the word would seem to approximate to that of fate. At other times it could almost be translated "luck," used either in a good or a bad sense. For instance, the people will say that a good or bad yield of corn in a man's field is "Mulungu wakwe," literally, "his luck." Then again, if a death is declared to be "Mulungu," that is equivalent to saying that no one is specially to blame for it through witchcraft or anything of that sort. In translating the Bible into the native tongue this word "Mulungu" is always used for God.

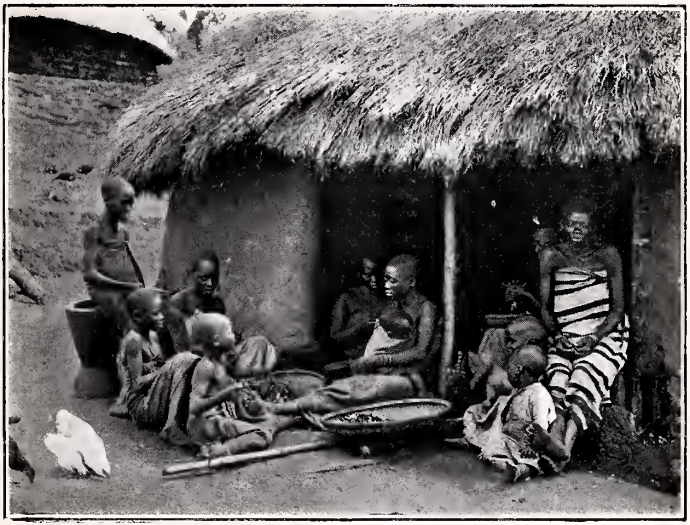
In religion the two tribes are very much alike. They are animists rather than pagans, that is to say, they do not worship idols; in fact, there are no idols in German East Africa, the native races paying their devotions rather to spirits than to material things, and for the most part to the spirits of their ancestors or of chiefs who died long ago. Of course charms are extensively worn; they come into every phase of the people's lives. Besides covering their bodies with them for the healing or averting of every actual or potential ill, the natives resort to them for protection when going on a journey, for assistance in catching game when starting on a hunting expedition, and before beginning to cultivate their fields. When the corn is in ear the flocks of greedy birds which prey upon it can, they think, only be driven away by the help of a charm obtained from the medicine man, and the same means is used to get rid of the herds of wild pigs which at night root up the fields bordering on the forest.

Various kinds of charms are also used to safeguard their villages from epidemics, and their cattle kraals from wild beasts. Indeed, their minds seem always to dwell on the occult. While they are in continual dread lest an enemy should bewitch them by the use of "medicine" obtained from the witch doctor, this same gentleman is resorted to by everybody for charms to protect their persons, families, and possessions from the malign influence of the wizard.

Witchcraft is the chief of all crimes in the opinion of the native, and the only one which he visits with capital punishment. While he will freely associate with, and even look up to, a thief, highwayman, or murderer, the slightest taint of hereditary witchcraft in a family will send all its members more or less to Coventry. Should there be so much as a whisper that a particular person has been guilty of occult practices, even though it be the basest of slanders, the unfortunate individual becomes more of a pariah in his village than if he were a leper. From that time every unfortunate occurrence is ascribed to him, until cumulative evidence appears to justify the trial by ordeal, which is the way they always deal with what they regard as an unnatural crime.

One of the greatest needs of the country is rain. Famines occur so frequently from lack of it that this element has more superstition connected with it than almost anything else. The natives believe that certain people can cause the rain to come, and they also believe that the same, or perhaps other people, can if they like keep it away. Besides this, anybody may inadvertently do something which will prove later on to have sensibly decreased the rainfall for the year. It often happens that the rains are late in coming, and sometimes they fail altogether. On these occasions great investigations take place to discover who is keeping it away, and all sorts of absurd reasons are found by the professional rainmakers to account for the drought. An unfortunate native was once very heavily fined because during the dry season, being engaged in making beehives, he cut down an euphorbia

WAGOGO PLAYING WUSOLO A NATIVE GAME



A FAMILY OF WAKAGURU

tree growing in a forest on the side of a hill. That year there was a drought, and the local rainmaker accounted for it by declaring that this particular tree had been the home of the spirit which controlled the rain. Angry at being thus turned out to accommodate the bees, he had refused to allow the country to have any rain that year! On another occasion a man was said to have upset the rainfall of the entire countryside because he had killed a scaly ant-eater, an animal of nocturnal habits which frequents the burrows of the white ants.

In some parts little grass huts, or spirit-houses, are erected in the fields or outside the villages, where offerings of ears of corn, or some such produce of the fields, or of cooked food, and even of native beer, are made to the spirits. In other places the graves of chiefs or of former headmen of the village are revered as the local shrine. These are enclosed by a fence, and sometimes a roof, usually of a rude description, is built over them. Sacrifices are offered at these graves, it may be by an individual family or, in time of national trouble, such as an epidemic of small-pox or when the rains fail, by the whole community. The family sacrifice may be a goat or a sheep. When offered by the whole country it will be a bullock, which, if the purpose of the offering is to bring rain, must be black in colour. The animal is slaughtered at the graveside, and after being dressed, the flesh is roasted on the spot and consumed, all the worshippers partaking of it. When the sacrificial feast is over, the bones and offal are piled up on the grave, and the party then returns home, happy in the thought of the good deed they have done and the blessing which is to follow from it.

It will not be out of place to notice here a very interesting custom, which has all the force of a religious observance, and is perhaps even more deeply rooted than the native religions. It goes by the name of "mulongwa," and consists in abstaining from eating certain animals, in much the same way as Jews and Mohammedans are forbidden to eat the pig; only, in this case, each family or clan has its

distinct "mulongwa," or forbidden animal. This is to them the abominable thing, which nothing will induce them to eat even in times of famine. The custom seems to have originated very far back in their history when the ancestors of the various clans each bade his children refrain from using some particular animal as food, in much the same way as the Rechabites were forbidden the use of wine. Their injunctions have been observed ever since as scrupulously as in that notable instance of fidelity to paternal commands. So much is this the case that a man implicitly believes that if he were to eat his "mulongwa," all manner of dreadful things would happen to him. It may be any animal from an antelope to a rat, or even only a particular portion of one. People are recognized by their "mulongwa" as belonging to different clans, in much the same way as in civilized countries some families are marked by their crest.

The wonderful tenacity with which the people cling to such a superstitious observance is surely an indication of what may be expected of them, *mutatis mutandis*, when they embrace the Christian faith.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOLDEN AGE: THE CHILDHOOD OF THE MISSION

APART from the Portuguese of a century or two ago, the earliest European influence in this part of East Africa was British, and this was true not only of the early explorers, but also of the pioneer missionaries. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa settled at an early date in Zanzibar, and afterwards extended their work to the Usambara Country on the mainland, where they were well established before the German occupation. Their linguistic work, especially in Kiswahili, has been most valuable, Bishop Steere's handbook being still the best medium for acquiring a knowledge of that tongue, and also

A NATIVE CHIEF WITH HIS RAIN STONES
(Two teachers are taken with the chief)

A TYPICAL MUGOGO

a useful introduction to all the Bantu languages of East Africa.

The C.M.S. was in the field as early as 1876, when a party of missionaries going to Uganda stayed for a time at Mpwapwa, about two hundred miles inland, opening a mission station there and leaving one of their number, a man named Clark, in charge. The purpose was to have a resting-place on the long road which had to be traversed before reaching the great lake. Cameron, the explorer, had recommended Mpwapwa to the C.M.S. as a promising centre for a mission. While on his journey across Africa he had stayed there for a time, and had been well received by the very intelligent chief of the place. Such was the beginning of what has since become known as the C.M.S. Mission in German East Africa.

The C.M.S. also had a station at Uyui, not very far from Tabora, which was subsequently given up, and another at Usambiro, at the south end of the Lake, afterwards transferred to Nassa, on Speke Gulf. At Usambiro Mackay worked, toiling heroically to construct a vessel which under its own steam should navigate the waters of the Victoria Nyanza. He died there in 1890, and was buried in the little Christian burial-ground by David Deekes, who, far from well himself, was the only missionary left to carry on the work. This station at the south end of the Lake was always considered part of the Uganda Mission, and was worked from there, until in comparatively recent times it was handed over to the Africa Inland Mission.

Other missions subsequently opened work in the country, among which may be mentioned such Lutheran Societies as the Berlin, Leipzic, and Bielefeld Missions, the Moravians, and the Africa Inland Mission.

Many of the German missions would have struck an Englishman as being more industrial and commercial than evangelistic. They developed considerably on their own lines, and in 1916, there were as many as ninety mission stations in the colony belonging to German societies.

Besides Protestant societies there were a great number of Roman Catholic missions all over the colony, connected with the Sacred Order of the Benedictines or with the Society of the Holy Ghost.

But to return to the first C.M.S. mission station opened by Shergold Smith's party in 1876. The health of Clark, the young missionary left at Mpwapwa, soon broke down, and he was obliged to return to England. In 1878 other men were sent out, among whom were Dr. E. J. Baxter, the Rev. H. Cole, and the late Rev. J. C. Price. These three men were the pioneers of the Mission, and by the two last-named Chigogo, the language of the Wagogo, was for the first time reduced to writing. The " grammar " still in use in the Mission was prepared by Mr. Price, and Mr. Cole compiled a dictionary which has proved most useful. Other translational work in Chigogo undertaken by these two missionaries includes the whole of the New Testament as well as a part of the Old Testament, a great part of the Prayer Book, and a hymnal.

Dr. E. J. Baxter was the senior missionary. In addition to his medical work he made an effort in the direction of self-support by endeavouring to develop what he conceived to be the great agricultural possibilities of the place. Industrial work of this kind, however, proved a failure on account of the shortness and uncertainty of the rainy season. A year or two later a less ambitious attempt to cultivate the soil was made in a fertile and well-watered valley about six miles west of Mpwapwa. A fine garden was the result, which provided the missionary party with an ample supply of vegetables, and such fruits as bananas, oranges, lemons, and mangoes. The virgin soil also produced vast quantities of cabbages and sweet potatoes of extraordinary size.

At this place, Kissokwe, a new station was opened, and the Rev. H. Cole was placed in charge, while the Rev. J. C. Price continued the work at Mpwapwa. Subsequently a third station was opened at a place called Mamboya, about fifty miles east of Mpwapwa, among a new tribe

known at that time as the Wamegi but in later years more accurately described as the Wakaguru.

These three stations were known in C.M.S. circles and publications either as "The stations on the road to the Lakes" or as "The Ussagara Mission." The former of these names became a misnomer when the northern route through British East Africa was chosen for the Uganda caravans, while the latter had always been incorrect, the real Ussagara country lying considerably to the south-east of Mpwapwa. In this book the eastern part of the Mission, comprising the country round Mamboya, and including that station and others opened subsequently, will be spoken of as Ukaguru; the rest of the district, in which are included the original stations of Mpwapwa and Kissokwe, as well as all the western portion with its stations opened at a later period, as Ugogo; while the Mission as a whole is called the C.M.S. Mission in German East Africa.

The early missionaries at these stations were very isolated. They had many difficulties to overcome, besides sometimes being in considerable danger. European caravans were few and far between in those days, only an occasional explorer or a party of missionaries ever travelling in these forests and wildernesses where there is nothing to attract, save for the former the fascination of the unknown, and for the latter the overwhelming desire to seek out the wandering sheep and bring them home to the Good Shepherd. Communication with the coast and Zanzibar was infrequent. The missionaries were fortunate if they obtained supplies once a year. The time of the European occupation of the country had not yet come.

Such authority as existed was entirely in the hands of the native chiefs, and each little chieftain did what seemed right in his own eyes. Those ruling in the vicinity of the Mission were weak compared with the neighbouring Wahehe and Masai, and the incessant cattle-raiding and deportation of women and children which went on in those early years kept the missionaries' lives free from monotony,

and provided them with rather more excitement than they cared for! At length, on the occasion of a great cattle raid by the Masai, one of the missionaries intervened at considerable danger to himself and succeeded in getting the cattle back. From that time forward this marauding tribe sought their "loot" in other directions and left Mpwapwa alone. The Wahehe also, when they found that they had white men to deal with, refrained from coming so openly to make captives. But for many years this tribe continued to be a terror to the surrounding country, rendering the roads all over this part unsafe except for large and well-armed caravans.

The Mission, situated as it was on the main routes from the interior to the coast, constantly came in contact with the large Arab caravans which passed to and fro with their long files of human merchandise all chained together. From time to time a poor slave managed to escape, and sought and found a refuge with the missionaries. Some of these freed slaves, or their descendants, are at the present time to be found in the ranks of the Christian Church, and more than one of them is taking his part in the great work of setting at liberty those who are bound in the chains of sin.

All this time Dr. Baxter was combating the influence of the witch-doctors by modern medical science, and for the first time in the history of the country small-pox, which makes such havoc among Africans, was being prevented by vaccination. At first, of course, sick cases were brought only after all other treatment had failed and the patient was in a dying condition; but a case of snake-bite gave the mission doctor a chance of showing the skill of the white man, and the natives were able to contrast it with the clumsy and stupid methods of their own medicine men. The other missionaries meanwhile taught the people to read and write, and by life as well as by word made known to them the love of God. During this time much good seed was sown which in later years has brought an abundant harvest. Thus the foundations were laid of

a Church which has proved itself "strong in the Lord" to "stand" and "withstand" in the evil time which has come upon it through this war.

From the first the chief of Mpwapwa was friendly and helpful to the Mission, encouraging his young people to learn. Some of the lads who were instructed at that time both there and at Kissokwe were among that noble band of teachers who with their families have had to endure much hardship and bitter persecution during the last three years. One of these lads, Andreya Lungwa, came under the influence of the Rev. J. C. Price at Mpwapwa, and after working for some years as a servant was trained by him as a teacher. He has done good work in the Mission as a catechist, and besides helping to translate the Bible into Chigogo, has now for some years been the head teacher at Mvumi and one of the pillars of the Church in Ugogo. About the same time another lad, named Andreya Mwaka, who was being wrongfully treated as a slave, found a friend and protector in the Rev. H. Cole at Kissokwe. He became a Christian, and later a teacher, and has for many years past been in charge of the present Kissokwe out-station, being looked up to by his fellow-teachers and the Christians generally throughout that district as their spiritual father. These two men, among many others too numerous to mention here, are living examples of what God can do with the natives of East Africa through the work of Christian missions.

Mamboya, the third station to be opened in this Mission, is not situated like Mpwapwa and Kissokwe on the interior plateau, but lies in the Ukaguru mountains which lead up to that central tableland. The first mission house built there was placed just under a high peak, the Wakaguru at that time living mainly on the hill-tops, whither they had been driven from the more fertile valleys by the fierce Wahehe and marauding Masai, to whom this numerically weak and unwarlike tribe had fallen an easy prey while living in the low-lands. The friendship of the native chief was won in those early days, and he and his family have

continued ever since on the most friendly terms with the Mission. Although not the first C.M.S. missionary to live and work in Ukaguru, the late Rev. A. N. Wood may be regarded as the pioneer of the Cross in that country. In a remarkable degree he won the affections of the people, and by his linguistic labours as well as by his itinerating journeys in the country around laid a solid foundation on which the work was built and developed in after years. Some books of the New Testament, part of the Prayer Book, and a small hymnal were translated by him into Kikaguru.

While the work was developing in this way at Mamboya, the missionaries were not content to live on quietly at Mpwapwa and Kissokwe influencing only the people in that small area. The long journeys they made into Ugogo will be described in a later chapter, but early attempts were also made to get into touch with the two powerful tribes inhabiting the country on either side of them. Dr. Baxter undertook a journey to the Masai plains, spent a short time with this interesting tribe, and made blood-brotherhood with them. This effectually put a stop to any future raids from that quarter. The Rev. J. C. Price paid a visit to Uhehe, penetrating as far as the Luwaha River and Iringa, the capital of the country and the residence of the powerful chief Mukwawa. There was at this time considerable Arab influence at Mukwawa's court, but Europeans were practically unknown there; and it was the Wahehe who as late as 1891 cut up and almost annihilated a German military force as it tried to advance into their country. Although, owing to the lack of men, it was not possible to establish any missionary work in these two countries, the journeys then made were not without direct result, as seen in the immunity from attack long enjoyed by the unprotected mission stations.

Dr. Baxter was afterwards transferred to Moshi, a new station opened on Kilima Njaro by Mr. Steggall, Dr. Pruen for a short time taking Dr. Baxter's place in the Mission. The peace was disturbed by the advent of the Germans in 1884. A trading company formed by them, and enjoying

the German Emperor's protection, opened a commercial station at Mpwapwa. Their object seems to have been quite as much the making of so-called treaties with the chiefs as trading with them. Some chiefs were undoubtedly persuaded to accept German " protection," though it may be doubted whether any one of these understood that by so doing he was surrendering himself and his country and becoming a vassal of the German Empire. Even in those early days the Germans came into collision more than once with the natives of Mpwapwa on account of their arbitrary methods, such as the commandeering of cattle when the people refused to sell. Mpwapwa, however, was too small a place for the natives to make any effectual resistance.

When the Germans finally took over the government of the country in 1890 under the treaty made with Zanzibar, the consequent Arab revolt against their rule that same year resulted not only in the Mpwapwa mission station being completely destroyed by Bushire, the Arab leader, but also in such unsettlement that missionary work at Kissokwe and Mamboya was for some time completely at a standstill. Bushire's army, consisting of slaves and other heterogeneous elements, was defeated at the coast by the Germans, whereupon the rabble retreated inland, getting as far as Mpwapwa. Though not formidable as a military force, they managed to get the German trading station at this place into their hands, and supplied themselves with gunpowder as well as other things which they needed. At first Bushire pretended to be friendly with the English Mission. Afterwards he attempted to capture the Rev. J. C. Price, but failed, as he had taken the precaution of sleeping at night on the hills at the back of the house. There was therefore no one at the station when Bushire made his sudden attack, looted it, and burnt it to the ground.

A rather amusing, if somewhat tragic incident, is connected with the looting of the drugs found at the mission house. The natives reported afterwards that Bushire's men, evidently mistaking these for the white man's " strong

drink," consumed the contents of some of the bottles with disastrous, and in some cases fatal, results to themselves. Much valuable mission property, as well as the private effects of the missionaries, were lost. In consequence, great hardships were suffered, as nothing could be obtained from the coast, the road being closed and no mails getting through for many months.

This rebellion of Bushire may be regarded as bringing to a close the first period of C.M.S. activity in the country. It also marked the end of the old regime under which each native chieftain reigned supreme in his own domain.

CHAPTER V

A MOMENTOUS DECADE

THE years between 1890 and 1900 were fraught with momentous issues for the natives of German East Africa. They opened with a terrible cattle-plague which swept through the country from north to south, devastating the herds to such an extent that a native was fortunate if he saved even two or three animals out of as many hundreds. The wealth of the country had consisted largely of cattle, and now the chiefs as well as their people were reduced to poverty; while milk, which forms an important part of the native dietary, as well as supplying them with fat in the shape of butter, almost entirely failed. The Masai especially suffered terribly. Their wonderful physique which made them such powerful warriors was built up on an exclusive diet of meat and milk, and when their cattle died very many of this once dreaded tribe perished of hunger.

This calamity overtook the country just at the time when the Germans were establishing their power there by military operations, and undoubtedly the natives were in consequence less able to resist them. The weak ones quickly submitted, but the larger districts held out until

they were reduced by force of arms. A great deal of fighting took place in Ugogo where the native villages, built foursquare of strong wicker-work plastered with mud, and with flat mud roofs, were not easy to burn and could be loopholed and defended from inside. The Wagogo are great bee-keepers, and on that occasion they took their beehives out of the trees and carried them into their houses. When the Germans attempted to storm these villages they were attacked by swarms of bees, which issued from under the eaves of the houses and from every hole and crack in the plaster, so that it was impossible for the invaders to effect an entrance until cannon had been brought to bear. The Wahehe were the last of the tribes to give in, but by 1896 even they had submitted to the inevitable, and German rule for good or for evil was firmly established, none daring any longer to challenge their occupation of the country.

The cup of East Africa's woes was not yet full. In 1895 locusts came in such swarms as even the oldest inhabitant could not remember to have seen before, and ate up all the corn of the country while it was still growing. Nothing was left in the devastated fields but the bare stalks. "There remained not any green thing." The natives of East Africa eat locusts when they can get them; and in the early morning, while the dew was still on their wings so that they could not fly, the people gathered them by the basketful. Fried locusts was the principal item on the menu for the day. Drying them in the sun, they stored them in pots and used them as food for weeks, until they decomposed and every village became unsavoury through the bad locusts!

This was, however, but a slight and transient addition to the food supply, and the subsequent famine was severe; and in some parts, where there were no stores of old corn available, the natives were literally decimated. The English missionaries in Ugogo and Ukaguru did what they could to relieve the wants of the people, but corn was almost unobtainable except at the coast. It was

extremely difficult to get it up-country, as there was no railway at that time and the ordinary caravan traffic was nearly at a standstill on account of the famine.

A missionary must, of course, recognize that the "powers which be," in the country in which he is working, "are ordained of God," whether these consist of native rulers or of European governments in the protectorates established by them. When the "old order" changed, yielding place to new, the C.M.S. missionaries quickly adapted themselves to the altered condition of things, rejoicing in the fact that they could pursue their missionary work under a settled government with proper law and order, and that they were no longer subject to the whims and caprice of savage potentates. In this transition period they were often able to act as mediators and to smooth away much misunderstanding between the German officials and the natives. That their influence over the latter was of the highest value at that time was amply proved by the fact that the Germans were able to establish themselves at Mpwapwa without any fighting or bloodshed, as in fact was the case in the whole sphere of the Mission's influence.

In the changed condition of things the natives turned to the missionaries as to old and proved friends whom they could trust, and the country became open as never before to the Gospel. Itinerating journeys had previously been undertaken in various directions. Efforts were now made definitely to extend the work beyond the old confines of the Mission, and to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond. Preaching as well as some school work was begun at this time in several places around Mpwapwa and Kissokwe. Out-stations were opened at these places in later years, and at one, Kongwa, a regular mission station was built. The need for more African teachers began to be felt and some new men were trained for this work.

During this period extensive journeys were made across the waterless wilderness, called the "Marenga Mkali," lying to the west of Mpwapwa and Kissokwe, into the Ugogo Country. There the teeming population inhabiting

the vast plains was living in conditions of almost primeval savagery, many of the people in the remoter parts never having seen a white man. For the first time Jesus Christ was preached to them as the Saviour of mankind, and everywhere great crowds gathered to listen to the Gospel thus proclaimed in their own language. Occasionally at these gatherings the preacher would ask those who were willing to become Christians to stand up, and sometimes more than a thousand would rise in response to such an appeal. Truly the fields were " white unto harvest " in Ugogo at that time, and had it been possible just then to open a station in that region much of the precious grain might have been garnered. But it was not until the year 1900, when Mvumi station was opened, that this promising field could be occupied.

Owing to these itinerating journeys the Mission became well known throughout Ugogo, and from that time the people always considered themselves as belonging to the English Mission. Thus the way was paved for the opening of the Mvumi and Buigiri mission stations, and the enormous development of the work in later years.

All this time things were developing in much the same way at Mamboya in Ukaguru. The work was no longer confined to the hills on which the mission station was built, but had extended to the valley below and beyond it to the Ponela range of hills on the opposite side, periodical visits preparing the ground for the opening of a station at Itumba in 1900.

Under the German Government the marauding tribes were to a great extent kept in check, and this comparative freedom from raids made it no longer necessary for the weaker peoples to take refuge in the hills. Many migrated to the more fertile valleys and forest clearings. The Mission followed them, and in a district called Berega, where large numbers had settled, a preaching place was erected and a promising centre developed at which work was more or less regularly carried on.

The staff at Mamboya had been augmented in 1892 by

Mr. and Mrs. D. Deekes; and in 1895 there was a further addition of two ladies, the first single women missionaries to be sent to the German East Africa Mission. A promising work developed both with the caravan folk and the more settled native population. This was for a time carried on from the original station on the hill above; later on, a rest-house as well as a church were built in the valley, the object of the former being to allow of one of the ladies visiting the place to work among the women. From Mamboya valley the enterprise extended still farther afield, and several new out-stations were opened.

This very interesting work in Mamboya valley received a great set-back by the fall of the church in December, 1899. Sunday school was being held at the time, and although most of the pupils present managed to escape, some few, as well as two lady missionaries, were buried beneath the fallen débris. The two Europeans sustained no serious injury, but unfortunately seven of the native congregation were killed. The church, which was built of wattle and daub, was both large and lofty, and the huge grass roof was supported by a great number of massive posts. These supports, as well as those in the walls, had been eaten through just below the ground by white ants, and an exceptionally heavy storm of wind and rain blew the whole building over. The natives in their superstitious fears attributed the accident to the anger of some particular god or ancestor who was annoyed with them for embracing the white man's religion, and the result was the almost total breaking up of a large Sunday congregation and a very promising week-day school. It was some time before Mamboya recovered from this shock and the people again began to attend the services and classes at the station.

In the year 1899 the old diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa, fragrant with the hallowed memories of Bishops Hannington and Parker, and so richly blessed under Bishop Tucker, was divided into the two new dioceses of Mombasa and Uganda, the Rev. W. G. Peel being conse-

BUIGIRI MISSION HOUSE
(Destroyed by fire at the hands of the Germans)

THE EARLY STAGE OF A VILLAGE SCHOOL

crated the first Bishop of Mombasa on St. Peter's Day, June 29. The Diocese of Mombasa includes the greater part of German East Africa and the whole of the C.M.S. sphere in that country.

CHAPTER VI

ATTEMPTING GREAT THINGS

IN the year 1900 Bishop Peel paid his first visit to German East Africa and presided over a conference held at Mamboya, which was attended by all the missionaries then in the Mission. At that conference a forward movement was inaugurated to extend the Mission in both Ukaguru and Ugogo, and to increase the number of the stations from three to seven. Instead of punctuating at intervals a portion of the old caravan track with mission stations, strategic positions were selected in the most populous parts of the country as centres from which large districts could be most readily evangelized; and it was determined to aim at evangelizing the tract of country which the comity of missions on the one hand and the earnest expectation of the people on the other so very evidently indicated as the sphere for which the C.M.S. was responsible, rather than to cleave to the old idea of occupying "stations on the road to the Lake."

One of the chief hindrances to expansion in modern missionary enterprise is the inability of the available staff to meet the increased strain which it involves, and this sudden extension in German East Africa—more than doubling the number of stations—may therefore seem remarkable. The fact of the matter was that the staff of the Mission had been steadily increasing since early in 1892, when it stood at a very low level. The reinforcements of that year have already been referred to as well as the advent of the single women in the year following. In 1894 New South Wales sent a man to this Mission, and four new missionaries

were sent out from England in 1897, including a married couple who had enjoyed the advantage of considerable parochial experience at home. Although during the same period one missionary had retired through ill-health, there was a sufficient staff in 1900 to justify the new arrangements.

Thus it came to pass that stations were opened in Ukaguru at Berega, Nyangala, and Itumba, while the original hill-station of Mamboya, which, owing to the migration of the greater part of the population from the hills to the valley, had become deserted, was reduced to the status of an out-station, women's work still being maintained at the station in Mamboya valley. In Ugogo, Kissokwe became an out-station of Mpwapwa, and the new station of Mvumi was opened fifty miles farther to the west. All this extension was an accomplished fact by the end of the year in which it was planned. In 1901 another new station was opened in Ugogo at Buigiri, a place situated about twenty-five miles north of Mvumi.

An important feature of this reorganization of the Mission was the assigning to each station of a large missionary district, with the intention that these separate spheres of work should, as time went on, be covered with village schools and out-stations, the latter manned by African teachers and the whole supervised by European missionaries. This involved the training of a great number of African Christians as teachers. As there was no college or divinity school in the Mission, and it was impossible for various reasons at this time to establish one, the need had to be met by the laborious method of each man training as best he could the teachers he required for his particular district. The number was limited at first on account of the smallness of the Christian communities from which they could be obtained, but as new converts were added to the Church the offers of service increased, and it is a remarkable proof of the blessing of God on this new departure that, as the needs arose,

young Christian Africans offered themselves in numbers almost commensurate.

Of the new stations, Berega is situated on the edge of a huge forest which is full of wild animals of all kinds, and Archdeacon Rees, who built the station, will not soon forget the first night he and Mrs. Rees spent in a tent there with two lions prowling round keeping them awake by awe-inspiring roars. Nyangala lies at the foot of the mountain of that name, the greater part of which is sheer rock, its precipitous peak being a landmark for miles around. The station overlooks a deep and fertile valley which produces vast crops of maize and sugar-cane. Itumba station occupies a most lovely position on the Ponela mountain just under the lofty tree-clad peak, the mists of which condensing in moisture feed the tiny streams which afford a perennial supply of delicious water. The garden can be irrigated, and European vegetables flourish, cabbages attaining almost the height of small trees, while in the flower garden geraniums quickly grow into a veritable hedge unless they are repeatedly cut back. Most glorious views are obtained over mile after mile of mountain peaks, forest-clad hills, and rolling plains. Mvumi and Buigiri, the two new stations in Ugogo, are both built on slight eminences rising out of the plain. They have no beauty of any sort to recommend them, nature in that locality being almost always in her sternest mood, either deluging the ground in the rainy season until it is too swampy to walk over, or during the eight months' drought parching everything into powder with the pitiless sun. The only attraction about such places is to be found in the multitudes of villages easy of access to the missionary, and the unlimited opportunity he has of preaching the Gospel to crowds of people, no matter in which direction he may wander forth.

When Bishop Peel visited the Mission again in 1902 there was a very different state of things from that obtaining at the time of his first visit. The natives everywhere

had responded to the evangelizing efforts put forth on their behalf, and there was a certain keenness to learn to read on the part of many which resulted in the schools being well attended. There had also been much spiritual progress, and a goodly number had been enrolled as inquirers and catechumens. Some baptisms had taken place, and from the existing Christian communities men in increasing numbers were offering themselves for training as teachers. The new stations were by this time all firmly established and the missionaries had visited the greater part of their districts, being everywhere well received by the people. In 1904 it was found impossible to maintain Itumba and Nyangala, in Ukaguru, as European stations, and these two places have since been worked as out-stations in charge of African teachers.

Just before this an effort was made to add to the efficiency of the Mission by providing a sanatorium, to which members of the staff could go for a change, especially after illness. Bishop Peel chose a site on the Kiboriani mountains at an altitude of 6000 feet. Here a substantial building was erected with funds given by a friend in England, supplemented by subscriptions from the missionaries and a grant from the C.M.S. This sanatorium has proved most useful, especially as a gathering place for missionary conferences.

Besides the closing of Itumba and Nyangala as mission stations, other changes took place at this time. It was felt that the old historic station of Mpwapwa was no longer fulfilling its function as a centre of vigorous church life, and that this was largely on account of its very close proximity to the German government station which had sprung up. It was therefore decided to move the station to a new centre about ten miles away, a place called Kongwa, situated on the other side of the Mpwapwa mountains and overlooking the Masai plain. As many of the adherents of the Mission as could be induced to leave their old surroundings migrated there or to other mission stations. The Rev. D. J. Rees, who had lately been

appointed secretary of the Mission, was moved from Berega to build and take charge of this new station, the intention being to locate the secretariat in the centre of the Mission as a permanent arrangement. The Rev. T. B. R. Westgate, of the Canadian C.M.S., was for a time located at Kiboriani, where he lived at the sanatorium which he had just built, and worked Mpwapwa and Kissokwe as out-stations, as well as a district on both sides of that range of hills.

In the year 1905 a native rising occurred in German East Africa, called the "Maji-maji" rebellion. The medicine men who instigated it promised the people that they would by their magic turn the contents of the German soldiers' rifles into water (*maji*), hence the appellation. It began near the coast some time in the summer, and a Roman Catholic missionary party, including a bishop as well as some nuns, was surprised while travelling, and murdered. By the autumn the rising had extended to the neighbourhood of the C.M.S. Mission, and Bishop Peel, who was visiting that part of his diocese, was in consequence forbidden by the German official to travel about. Soon afterwards the Government advised the missionaries to assemble in one spot where they could be protected, and the sanatorium at Kiboriani was selected as the best locality, being near to the fort at Mpwapwa. They lived there for some months under the protection of a detachment of German marine infantry, while the rebellion was being crushed by the government troops.

There was no fighting in either Ugogo or Ukaguru, the people of these districts remaining loyal to the Germans, a striking testimony to the good influence of the Mission. The rebels, however, got as near to Mpwapwa as Kilossa, a place about forty miles to the south-east, which they pillaged and burnt. From that time the rising was gradually got under, but not without tremendous bloodshed. The Germans admit that over 100,000 natives lost their lives in this rebellion. This is probably a low estimate. The most ruthless punishment was meted out to the tribes which joined in the rising with a view to preventing its

recrudescence, and the number of those who died from famine alone in the areas affected must have been very large. Bishop Peel was detained at Kiboriani until February, 1906, the road being too unsafe for civilians to travel, and the work of the Mission remained dislocated until nearly the middle of that year.

There is no doubt that this rebellion was a deliberate attempt on the part of the people to throw off the German yoke. It was obviously similar to that which had recently been made by the Hereros in German South-West Africa, and but for the fact of it being precipitated prematurely by harsh treatment in the collection of the hut-tax it would have been much more general.

CHAPTER VII

CARRYING ON

THE futile attempt of the natives to put the clock back in the colony left a legacy of misery behind it, making life less of the old careless, easy-going existence than it had been in the past. Many of the rebels were killed, but others fled, and these were scattered widely over the country, making it highly undesirable for women missionaries to live alone and unprotected as they had before been able to do. Consequently those belonging to the staff at Mvumi were obliged to reside at Kongwa until their safety at the former place could be assured, and it was also deemed prudent for the Mamboya staff to live for a time at Mpwapwa. As late as the autumn of that year (1906) German native soldiers scoured the country, searching for rebels who were sojourning in the unaffected areas to escape the famine which war had brought upon their own stricken districts ; and the painful sight was sometimes witnessed of large parties of these emaciated creatures being ruthlessly escorted back to

A STATION ON THE RAILWAY TO LAKE TANGANYIKA

their desolate homes where they would inevitably perish with hunger.

The medical mission which, as we have seen, was begun at Mpwapwa, was afterwards for a short time transferred to Kissokwe, and when that became an out-station only, it was again removed, this time to Mamboya, where Dr. Baxter built himself a house and erected both a dispensary and a temporary hospital. His medical work here became widely known; patients came from long distances to the dispensary and hospital, and more than one convert was added to the Christian Church as the direct result of his labours. This location was not entirely satisfactory, as it settled the doctor at one end of the Mission, and left Ugogo very far from medical help. In consequence, plans were formulated for again transferring the medical mission to a better and more central sphere, and at the same time funds were forthcoming (including a promised grant from the German Government) for the erection of a thoroughly up-to-date hospital. Plans for this building were drawn up and approved by the Home Committee. All this was, however, stopped, and the whole project thrown into abeyance by the retirement of the veteran missionary doctor, after a term of service extending over thirty-five years. Since then the Mission has been without a medical man.

Another milestone in African history was set up about this time. The central railway through German East Africa from Dar-es-salam to Lake Tanganyika was begun in 1905; by 1909 it had reached Kilossa, 200 miles inland; by 1912 it had been carried as far as Tabora, only 200 miles from Ujiji on the Tanganyika; and it was completed in a little more than a year from that date. Though much of the romance of African travel disappeared with the advent of the "iron horse," yet one cannot but rejoice that these once benighted regions, to open up which Livingstone gave his life, are now linked up with the civilized parts of the earth.

It goes without saying that in breaking new ground

a lot of spade work is necessary. The missionary must go in and out among the people and get to know them in their own homes, entering thoroughly into their life until a real friendship springs up between them, if he would prepare the ground for the seed which he has come to sow. For it is beyond all question that the oftener they see him in their villages the more frequently they will be found in church and school. All this can easily be done in the vicinity of a station by regular visiting, but in remote parts of a district long itinerating journeys are necessary if the missionary is to get to know the people and win their confidence. For these the dry season is generally chosen, as travelling is easier at that time, and after harvest the people are at leisure from their work in the fields. The necessary tents and camp equipment, with provision boxes, are prepared and made up into loads, and if a "baby" organ can be taken it will be sure to prove an attraction. Porters are engaged to carry the loads, an effort being made to get as many adherents of the Mission as possible for this work, as they often prove most valuable auxiliaries in spreading the good news in the places visited. Besides these porters, the missionary takes with him one or two native teachers.

He may be away from home a week, a fortnight, or a month, according to the time he can spare from the station and the extent of ground he wants to cover. His daily journeys are long or short according as the population in the country through which he is passing is dense or sparse. In Ukaguru a great deal of mountain-climbing is necessary, while in Ugogo dry waterless plains have often to be crossed. The objective in each district is, of course, the chief's village. After salutations have been duly paid to this important personage and his head-men, the camp is chosen, the tents pitched, and the porters sent to draw water and collect firewood. The missionary is now ready for the real work of the day. Perhaps by this time a crowd has collected and a service can be held, or the teachers may have gathered some of the

younger folk together and begun teaching them to read. While they are thus engaged the missionary visits as many homes as time permits, gaining ample opportunities for personal conversation. In this way the time is profitably spent until the close of the afternoon when, in the cool of the day, a mass meeting is always held in the chief's village and the Gospel preached, the missionary usually speaking first, the native teachers following up the message and pressing it home with all the force of native proverb and idiom, in the use of which they are inimitable. Invariably a few sick folk gather together in a little knot on the outside of the crowd, and these are now attended to. Evening prayers with the porters just before bed-time close the work of the day. At these are frequently seen some of the natives of the place whose hearts the Lord has opened; they have stayed behind for further conversation with the teachers about the wondrous story which they have heard that day for the first time.

In this way the "good seed" was scattered broadcast all over that large tract of country which the Mission had set itself to evangelize, and the result was beyond even the most sanguine expectation. Almost immediately there was apparent on the part of the people a desire for more regular religious instruction and a certain keenness for "reading." Soon a distinct movement towards education was perceptible in the country and many became enrolled as inquirers. In this outlying part of the world religion and education went hand in hand, the one being in the minds of these simple people the complement of the other.

The problem which now had to be solved was how to provide something like continuous instruction in between the very occasional itinerating journeys, and so ensure that those who were desirous of learning should go forward and not backward during those intervals. The plan adopted was to establish village schools in places where there were inquirers and scholars, sending out bands of native teachers two by two in different directions.

Each party had its regular itinerary which extended over the week, a day being spent at each place. By this means a great many people were taught to read, besides receiving definite instruction in the Christian faith, and many who were afterwards baptized got their early teaching in this way. These African evangelists were fine fellows, and it was an inspiration to see them starting off on a Monday morning for their long tramp, with reading-sheets from which to teach. The discordant sounds produced by antelope horns served to notify to all around that school and classes were about to begin. The people generally erected some sort of a building in which they could gather for school. In Ukaguru large open grass-roofed sheds were easy to construct, material being abundant there, while in Ugogo a fairly spacious flat mud-roofed hut served the purpose of a shelter from the sun. All this time there was a growing desire on the part of the people for instruction, which is perhaps the best testimony to the work the teachers were doing.

Another indication of the growth of this new movement was that certain chiefs sent their sons to the central mission stations to be educated, apparently quite content that they should learn the Christian faith. Some of these lads afterwards became teachers. There were also instances of whole families coming to a mission station from some distant part in order that they might be taught more regularly. The first drops of a most gracious shower of blessing were falling here and there, and the way was being prepared for the wave of revival which swept over the Mission a year or two afterwards.

CHAPTER VIII

AN AFRICAN EDUCATION ACT

SOMEWHERE about the year 1910 the imperial German authorities seriously took in hand the education of the natives in their East Africa colony. They had previously established government schools in a few of the large towns such as Dar-es-salam, but no one had been compelled to attend these; now education was to be compulsory wherever school accommodation was provided, and for this purpose mission schools were recognized as well as government schools. The practical effect of the new law was to empower the local authorities to compel the native children to attend any school there might be in their district if they were not already being taught elsewhere, the parents of the children theoretically having the right to choose whether they should go to a government or a mission school. The missionaries were left free to teach any doctrine they liked, no attempt being made to cut out religion from the curriculum. The state schools which were opened at all the government centres were supposed to be absolutely secular, though as a matter of fact the teachers appointed by the Government were almost invariably Mohammedans.

The government schools were directly under the *bezirk-samtmann*, or district magistrate, of each separate government district, and these officials generally took a great interest in them. A special effort was made by the German authorities to secure that the future native rulers in their protectorate should be educated men, and from time to time orders were sent round to the various chiefs requiring them to send their own sons and those of their head-men to the government school. This German educational order seems to have permitted of a certain amount of elasticity, for while some district magistrates insisted on keeping their schools full and especially tried to get the chiefs' sons, others were more than ready to

encourage the people to attend mission schools rather than the government establishments. In at least one large government centre the local official opened no schools at all because he considered ample educational provision already existed in the various mission schools in his district. On the other hand an acting *bezirksamtmann*, in an excess of zeal for the school for which he was directly responsible, insisted that every chief in his district should send there three or four of his own or his head-men's sons to be educated, even if they were already attending C.M.S. schools. He persisted in this somewhat arbitrary proceeding in spite of strong remonstrance on the part of the Mission, and with characteristic German resourcefulness in self-justification he pointed out that his action was really prompted by a sincere desire to further the good work the Mission was doing by convincing the people that the Government were really in earnest in the matter of education; and he stated that he confidently anticipated it would make all the "slackers" much more regular in their attendance at the mission schools! This was probably the independent action of a far-seeing Anglophobe official determined to counteract the influence of the English Mission in Ugogo, which he probably thought a menace to the protectorate, rather than any settled government policy of opposition to mission schools.

In one important respect, however, mission schools were at a disadvantage, for government posts were open only to lads who had been educated in one or other of the state institutions. The hardship of this was felt by the German Protestant Missions, and they judged it to be a serious menace to the well-being of the protectorate, as most of the pupils in the government schools were Mohammedans, who by this action were placed in all the most responsible positions open to Africans. Besides, the Islamic influence prevalent in these schools made them in every way unsuitable places to which to send Christian lads.

After negotiations with the Government for the removal

of this grievance, a scheme was arranged under which the Berlin Missionary Society acquired a certain property on the Morogoro mountains, where they built a seminary for the education of Christian lads according to the standard of government requirements, so that they might be eligible for those posts which were then held mainly by Mohammedans. The Government viewed the scheme favourably and at one time there seemed every hope of success. The seminary, though belonging to the Berlin Missionary Society, was to be available also for the Moravians and the C.M.S., these two societies undertaking to bear their fair share of the expense. A meeting to arrange the details of this joint seminary was held in 1912 at the C.M.S. station of Buigiri, at which Pastor Axenfeld, Home-director of the Berlin Missionary Society, was present, as well as other delegates from that Mission, from the Moravian Missionary Society, and from the C.M.S. It was arranged that the Berlin Society should supply the principal and the Moravians a tutor, but C.M.S. were not to be represented on the educational staff, it being considered wiser to adhere strictly to German methods in this matter.

The C.M.S. never made any use of this institution, since, before they were prepared to send any lads there, a hitch occurred owing to uncertainty as to whether after all the Government were prepared to entertain applications for employment from the students who passed through it, without their undergoing at least a short course in the government school at Dar-es-salam. Other difficulties of a different nature also arose, which prevented any further steps being taken to carry out this plan of co-operation.

Doubtless all this effort on the part of the Government to provide educational facilities, and their general policy in the matter, increased the desire for instruction which had previously been spreading over Ukaguru and Ugogo, and helped to fill the mission schools. The young people had as a rule been willing enough to come to school, but their parents were not always quite so ready to spare them from the manifold domestic and other duties in which the

children are expected to bear a hand, such as drawing water, herding the cattle, and scaring birds from the crops. Besides, the more conservative and heathen the parents were the less they liked their children to attend mission schools, fearing lest they should become Christians, a probability which was by no means remote. All this, however, was as nothing when the possibility arose of their being forced to attend a government school where only the Swahili language was spoken. Even the most hardened opponents soon made up their minds to accept the lesser evil and quickly had their families enrolled as scholars of the English Mission.

It was the government education policy which brought the Roman Catholics into Ugogo, and it was by government help exercised through it that they established themselves there. The governor seems to have appealed to the German missions to go where the masses of the people were, and to have reproached them for having in the past chosen the pleasant places rather than the thickly-populated areas. Ugogo was one of these unattractive localities, and the C.M.S. had been left there in undisputed possession since 1876. Now, however, the Benedictines opened a station within four hours' journey of Mvumi, and the " Society of the Holy Ghost " (Black Fathers) a little later, occupied a strategic spot at Bahi on the new railway, while the old-established Roman Catholic missions at Kilossa and on the Nguru mountains became very aggressive and invaded the C.M.S. sphere of Ukaguru from the south and from the east. A determined attempt was made by them to capture many of the C.M.S. village schools, and to break up the work which the teachers were doing by means of the weekly itinerations mentioned above. At times the Roman Catholics even resorted to violence, beating the children for attending the schools of the English Mission, and going to such lengths as to enter the school houses and throw the books and slates they found there into the forest.

The very great superiority in numbers of their European

A SERVICE DURING AN ITINERATION IN UGOGO

staff enabled them to have one of their missionaries always on the spot, thus placing the English Mission at a great disadvantage, since it could rarely be represented save by African teachers. The people, however, in these two countries were staunch in their adherence to the English Mission which had worked so long among them, and they declined to be intimidated into accepting a faith which was new to them. The teachers, too, were surprisingly bold in challenging the right of the Roman Catholic priests to fill their schools by emptying those of the C.M.S. and to make converts by force from an unwilling people ; and one of their number, Marko Mutita, of Itumba, was in consequence arrested on a false charge preferred against him by Roman Catholic agents, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. Although he had to suffer this injustice, his intervention was successful in rendering nugatory that attempt at proselytizing.

In Ugogo the Roman Catholics went to great lengths in their endeavours to intimidate the people, and the German official was more than once appealed to by the latter for his protection. It is a matter of satisfaction to be able to record that the *bezirksamtmann* of Dodoma, of that time, was fair and impartial and seldom failed to grant their request. By his help the adherents of the English Mission were able to stand their ground against this attempt to impose Roman Catholicism upon them. His action was in direct contrast to that of an acting magistrate of the same place on another occasion, who held that it was conceding too much to the black man to allow Africans to choose their religion, and that the Government should settle for them whether they were to be Roman Catholic or Protestant ! By the help of another German official (of Kilossa) the Roman Catholics eventually succeeded in wresting from the Ukaguru Mission two large districts which had been worked from the Itumba out-station.

CHAPTER IX

SEASONS OF REFRESHING

ALL true revivals are "seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord," and they come in the fullness of His time. From the human point of view there are many things which lead up to them; for God uses all manner of means as instruments for the carrying out of His will, and He makes even untoward events turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel. Mention has already been made of the patient labours of God's servants both in Ugogo and Ukaguru. These won the love and confidence of the people and brought them to regard the English Mission as pre-eminently *their* mission, so that they turned to it for help in all their difficulties and perplexities.

To the outsider who may travel through these lands natives appear singularly stolid and indifferent to the changes which Europeans introduce into Africa, but really they are profoundly affected by them, and to a very great extent their faith in the old superstitions which once held complete sway over them is severely shaken. They may very well be described as standing on the verge of the unknown, peering fearfully into the future, afraid to go forward and unable to retrace their steps. It will be readily seen that such mentality instinctively seeks some one who is trustworthy, who at the same time can help. The Wagogo and Wakaguru, when they found themselves drifting they knew not where, turned for help to their old friends the missionaries of the English Mission. They felt they could depend upon these at least.

The many vicissitudes through which these people had passed during the last twenty years had all helped to bring about this state of mind. War, famine, and pestilence had each in turn played its part, as well as the new and bewildering ideas and things from the unknown western world. "God was working His purpose out" by all these

ways and means, of which the Education Act came as the climax. From 1910–14 the numbers who sought admission into the schools and instruction classes of the Mission were far greater than the small staff could cope with.

At last it became evident that the system of sending out the teachers for a week's itineration to the more distant parts was not enough to meet the appeals of the people for instruction. Sunday by Sunday large groups were coming in to the central stations from these distant places, in order that they might be publicly admitted into the inquirers' classes, and the only thing to do was to open out-stations at the most promising centres and let the teachers live out there among the people. For this plan a larger native staff was necessary, but an appeal to the Christian congregations provided the men ; and the money for their support also coming in from various quarters, some of it from home through auxiliary contributions, the scheme was launched. The men were rather lacking in adequate training, there being no institution which could supply this in the Mission. On this account it was somewhat in fear and trembling that they were sent out to live for long periods away from the mission station and with all the cares of an out-station on their shoulders.

The success, however, of this new act of faith was from the first assured. The very isolation of the teachers cast them more upon God, and His strength was made perfect in their weakness. The people, too, were overjoyed at having their own teachers living among them. The applications for such men which flowed in strained the resources of the Mission almost to breaking point. Even the opposition of the Roman Catholics only made the people more faithful to the English Mission. So much was this the case that a German official remarked on a certain occasion to one of the C.M.S. staff, speaking of a particular Roman Catholic priest : " He is your best friend ; his missionary methods are driving all the people to you ; in a little while, if he continues here, every one in the country will be seeking instruction from your Mission.

All this time the applications for teachers had increased so much that it seemed impossible to entertain any more; but the call was so persistent that it could not be set aside, and at length the native Christians were strangely stirred by it. The desire to be taught on the part of so many seemed to inspire others with the desire to teach. It was no uncommon thing for the missionary, awakened early in the morning by voices outside on the veranda, to find when he got up that it was a party of Africans from some distant place—perhaps fifty or even a hundred miles away—who had come to see him and beg for a teacher to go back with them and live in their country and teach them "the words." Such groups of people would stay with the teachers and some of the Christians at the station and use all their eloquence to persuade one to return with them; and bitter was their disappointment when perhaps they had to return home without one. All this made a great impression on the native Church, until there was a corresponding revival in it in regard to offers of service. Men began to offer in greater numbers than one had even dared to hope for a year before.

It was astonishing to see how the work grew at the newly formed out-stations. On the very first visit to some of these the missionary found them fully established, with a neat and orderly building, erected by the natives themselves, to serve for church and school, while hundreds of adherents met him with a hearty welcome as he came in. In many cases the teachers were utterly unable to teach the enormous numbers who came to the school, and had it not been for the readiness of those who already knew a little to help their less fortunate fellows, it is difficult to see how they could have carried on with such crowds. As an illustration of how the spirit of the revival got hold of the Christians and made them willing to teach, as far as they were able, the following incident may be mentioned. A Christian belonging to one of the old mission stations went into the western part of Ugogo to trade.

The people of the place, finding he was a Christian, appealed to him to teach them. Their evident earnestness and the utter absence of any one to supply their need stirred him strangely and he determined to do what he could. He gave up trading forthwith and settled down among them as their teacher, and the next time the missionary went round that way he found an out-station had sprung up, as it were of itself. In telling his story the unauthorized worker said he had felt that the knowledge of Christ which he possessed in his heart was in itself a call to him to impart that knowledge to others who were without it. This man, besides teaching all day, would sometimes continue doing so up to a late hour at night by the light of a lantern. All this was without remuneration of any kind.

One striking thing about this revival was the rapidity with which it spread all over Ugogo and Ukaguru. When once the out-station system had been adopted to meet the appeals from the different chiefs for some one to live among them and teach them, these little centres of light sprang up in a marvellously short space of time throughout the country. Even Mohammedan chiefs, notably one at Ndaburo in western Ugogo, and others at Bokwa in the Nguru hill district of Ukaguru, welcomed the establishment of out-stations in their midst. In 1913, during the last visit that Bishop Peel paid to German East Africa, his daughter made an excellent little plan of the C.M.S. mission districts, marking the out-stations and village schools by dots. No fewer than 370 of these appeared on her map, and even that number was not long correct, since by the following year they had increased to well over 400.

While these wonderful things were happening at the out-stations, the effect of the revival was, if possible, more marked at and immediately around the central stations. Rain making, the origin of which hoary superstitious practice is lost in the dim recesses of the past, became greatly discredited, and if any still believed in it

they were ashamed or afraid to say so. A man who did have the temerity to express his belief in it publicly at an out-door service, while a teacher was preaching, was struck by lightning and killed on his way home, a heavy storm having come up at the close of the meeting. This remarkable coincidence made a great impression in all the district round. A chief in another part of Ugogo, through the influence of the Mission, gave up his rain stones, which had previously been thought to bring rain when put out in the sun ; and on another occasion several rain makers in Ukaguru brought their conjuring pots, full of weird and wonderful " medicine " of great renown for bringing refreshing showers, and publicly smashed them at the mission station. The court rain maker of Mvumi, who all his life had been considered so sacred that he was kept out of sight of a white man lest his holy body should become contaminated, now came in person to the mission station and begged for a school to be opened at his place. This he undertook to build. When the missionary visited his village from time to time he had at his service no more attentive listener than this old man. Heathenism was hard hit all round, and there was an evident desire on the part of the people to get rid of the degrading and superstitious elements in their distinctive customs.

Nor was this all. Real growth in the spiritual life was apparent. The prayers of the Christians became more real as they saw God's workings in the hearts of the heathen around. Bible-reading increased and the sales of the Scriptures went up. There was also a decrease in the number of those who fell into gross sin, as they came to know and trust in God's power to keep as well as to save. This change in the inner man produced greater carefulness in outer things, and the people became more particular about matters of dress, besides bestowing greater attention on such things as personal cleanliness. Sunday was better observed and became the recognized day for public worship, the adherents of the Mission gathering in great numbers in the churches, which were sometimes crowded out. At one

station services were held simultaneously in three different buildings. The Church had become a missionary Church.

CHAPTER X

MAKING PROVISION FOR THE FUTURE

"DID it last?" "What was the outcome of it all?" These are some of the questions which people ask in regard to a revival, and from the answers they receive they presume to judge of the reality or otherwise of the movement. Whether this is a fair method of inquiry depends largely on *what* they expect to last, and whether they are looking for normal or abnormal growth in the Christian life. The exuberant bubbling over of vitality which is characteristic of childhood is generally looked for in vain a little later, because it has found other modes of expression.

It may at once be stated emphatically that in German East Africa the revival did last, and was still going on when war broke out in 1914 and put a stop to any further prosecution of missionary work. The out-stations which were originally opened, instead of remaining just isolated lights shining in the darkness and revealing rather than dispelling it, soon became busy centres of missionary activity. Village schools sprang up all round, and soon from each out-station from four to ten of these schools, covering a radius of some ten or twelve miles, were being worked. These schools have been of the utmost value as evangelizing agencies. The numbers who had learnt to read during the last few years before the war were very large, and the consequent sales of the Scriptures greatly increased. Moreover, Bible lessons were given in all the schools, and from them a great many of the inquirers came. It should perhaps be mentioned that grown-up people as well as children attend the mission schools, and those who are disposed to embrace Christianity

are encouraged to go to school so that they may learn to read the Bible for themselves. To a great extent this development was self-extension, because it was only made possible through the help given by some of the converts, themselves the fruit of the work at the out-stations. At nearly all of them the staff was increased by the addition of two or three or even more of these young men as junior teachers or helpers. Besides meeting the immediate need, this afforded a promising outlook for the future supply of workers.

At many of the older out-stations there were already groups of baptized Christians, and the senior teachers had a great deal of pastoral work, in addition to their evangelistic work and instruction classes, owing to the absence of a European missionary. The latter could get round but seldom on account of the great extent of the district he had to supervise and the number of places to visit. At some out-stations there were large numbers in August, 1914, who had already been waiting many months for baptism. In some instances a second out-station had been opened as an offshoot of the first, a member of the teaching staff going there with a young convert as his assistant, while the other teacher carried on at the old place by means of local help.

Great as is the privilege of being permitted to see such mass movements, the strain which they involve upon the European missionaries can hardly be estimated, especially when, as in German East Africa, their numbers have not increased. In this Mission there was also the disadvantage that no fully trained native workers were available, nor a single native clergyman to help in shepherding the rapidly increasing flock. Although all the missionary's duties multiplied many times over until he seemed to be burning the candle in the middle as well as at the proverbial "both ends," it was not that which weighed most upon him and strained him at times almost to breaking point, but rather the thought of the thousands who were *not* being gathered in, but who *might* be won for

Christ if there were only more to do the work—the many appeals for teachers to which he was obliged to turn a deaf ear, and the promising open doors which he could not enter.

The German East Africa Mission has always been greatly handicapped by the lack of adequate educational facilities. Consequently that portion of the Pan-Anglican Thankoffering allocated to this field was utilized in 1912 to erect three really suitable school-buildings—two at stations in Ugogo and one in Ukaguru—which proved of the greatest help in raising the educational standard of the Mission. Not until these buildings were provided had our young people ever enjoyed the advantage of sitting at desks or on comfortable forms in light and airy rooms without disturbing influences to hinder the acquisition of knowledge.

These schools, however, did not in any sense fulfil the functions of a theological college or divinity school, which became an absolute necessity as the native staff increased and the need of still more teachers became apparent to enable the Mission to take advantage of even the most promising of the openings. Moreover, with the already considerable Christian communities at some out-stations, and the prospect of a great growth in them in the future, the problem arose of how church life was to be maintained in these congregations unless there were African clergy to minister to them. There was little hope of any large increase of European workers to do this work, and the districts as arranged were so extensive that, with all the work which he had to do at the central station, a missionary could not hope to visit all his stations more than twice, and in some instances once, a year; how then was proper provision to be made for these scattered sheep which the revival was bringing into the Church? It was out of the question to contemplate the ordination of even the senior native teachers without a good deal of training and instruction such as could adequately be given only in a theological

college. The training these men had previously received had been remarkably successful, considering its limitations, but it fitted them more for the work of evangelists than for that of pastors who would minister to the spiritual needs of congregations. And as the staff of native agents rapidly increased it became quite beyond the powers of the individual missionary to provide for their instruction at the separate stations. The old scheme was therefore again revived for establishing in the Mission an institution for the training of native agents.

This scheme had now the approval of the C.M.S. Committee at home, and in 1913 they gave permission to the Rev. Dr. Westgate to collect funds for the necessary building while on furlough. He raised a sum of money in Canada, and returning to the Mission in the autumn of that year at once set to work on the construction of the building. A site had been chosen at Kongwa, which was a central locality, besides being considered in many other ways suitable as an educational centre; and Dr. Westgate, himself a graduate of Huron College, Toronto, was selected by the local governing body of the Mission as the first principal. On his suggestion it was decided to call the institution "The Huron Training College for Native Agents," in recognition of the valuable help in this undertaking given by Canada to the Mission.

The erection of this college has been a fine achievement of missionary enterprise. When war broke out in August, 1914, less than a year from Dr. Westgate's return from furlough, a two-storied building solidly constructed of native granite was nearing completion. Nor was this all, for along with the work of building Dr. Westgate found time to hold a few classes for students, and a start was thus made not only with the material edifice, but also with the great work of preparing young native Christians to take their proper place in the African Church.

CHAPTER XI

THE WRATH OF MAN

THE present war is not the first that has disturbed the tranquillity and even tenor of the German East Africa Mission. Previous chapters have shown that this East Africa colony has in the past been familiar with " wars and rumours of wars," and that the Mission has been able in spite of it all to continue its work. Missionary operations at times were at a standstill through local disturbances, but the subsequent greater keenness on the part of the people, resulting in increased opportunities for work, more than made up for the transitory interruption. God in His providence overruled everything for the extension of His Kingdom, making even " the wrath of man " to praise Him.

The conflict which is now raging has established a new record in its disastrous effects on missionary work in the protectorate through the action of Germany in bringing the whole population of a country, whether civilian or military, women as well as men, within the scope of what Germans claim to be legitimate military operations. This persistent subordination of everything to the successful prosecution of the war, and their adoption of the motto, " Necessity knows no law," led them to make a determined attempt to destroy the work and influence of the English missionaries. That they have not succeeded in this is due not to any half measures on their part, but rather to the hold which Christianity has over the natives who have been brought under its influence, and, may we not also add, to the grace and power of God which have been so marvellously manifested in the teachers and converts of the Mission during the troublous times through which they have had to pass?

When hostilities broke out between England and Germany the local governing body of the Mission was gathered at Kongwa for conference. On receipt of the news it was at once decided that two of the number should

proceed to Dodoma, the nearest government centre, and inquire of the German official there what would be the position of the C.M.S. Mission under these altered circumstances, and what he considered the missionaries had better do. The primary object of this was to avoid by all possible means any action on their part as Englishmen which might bring trouble on the native Church, which it was at once realized must be the first care of the Mission. Advice from some one in authority was also imperative, owing to the fact that some of the missionaries were about to start for the coast for furlough in England, and it was necessary to inquire as to the chances of their getting through if they were to proceed on their journey.

After travelling all night and all the next day these two men reached Dodoma, and the following morning were granted an interview by the German in charge of Ugogo. Very friendly relations had always existed between this official and the Mission, as indeed between the German Government and the C.M.S. ever since the former took upon its shoulders the responsibility of ruling this part of East Africa. Their reception was marked by considerable formality, especially when a native soldier dashed up and, bringing down the butt end of his rifle almost on their toes as they were about to step over the threshold of the doorway leading into the fort, ordered them peremptorily to stand there and not dare to come any farther until he had announced their arrival. The "big man" was stiff but courteous throughout the interview. He blamed England for the war, which he thought would be of very short duration, there being no power in the world able to stand against Germany's mighty army for more than three or four months—six months being the extreme limit he thought the war could last! He was pleased to say that neither he nor the missionaries had anything to do with fighting, not being military men, so there was no reason why old friendships should be broken up, but in the same breath he said he could not allow them any longer to engage in missionary work in his district,

or to exercise any further influence over the native population of Ugogo. He requested the missionaries to return at once to their stations and live there quietly, avoiding moving about or obtruding their presence anywhere; and he especially ordered a total cessation of all missionary effort by both the European and native staff. This meant the complete closing down of work at central stations and out-stations alike, and although a special appeal was made on behalf of the Christians that Sunday services should be allowed for them, he would only relax his order to the extent of permitting the Europeans to hold a service each Sunday where they were living; the native teachers were forbidden to preach or teach in any way. While granting permission for a Sunday service to be conducted by a European at his station, this official was careful to say that he hardly thought any of the people would dare to come, as he had already warned them to have nothing more to do with the English.

In regard to the missionaries already starting on furlough he informed them that the railway to Dar-es-salam was closed to them, but he said they might be able to get out of the protectorate via Kilima Njaro, if they cared to try that route. As that meant a considerable caravan journey the missionaries concerned decided not to attempt it, and it is quite certain that if they had they would only have been arrested as soon as they reached the frontier, as were other Englishmen who tried to leave the country.

When the missionaries working in Ugogo returned to their stations they found the *akida* (a native government official) had been round and publicly denounced the iniquity of the English in forcing this war on Germany, warning the people to have nothing to do with a nation so desperately wicked. He told the Christians, and especially the teachers, to sever their connexion with the English Mission by either going over to Mohammedanism or returning to heathenism, and to destroy at once their Bibles, hymn books, Prayer Books, and all other

books printed in England, which, he said, would get ther into trouble if found in their possession. When asked b a teacher if this was a government order, and if so hov long it would be enforced, he replied that it *was* an orde and a permanent one, the Government being determined n longer to tolerate an English Mission in their protectorate There was nothing that could be done, so the missionarie settled down to live quietly at their stations, and the were very thankful for the Sunday services which the were able to hold and which were greatly valued by th Christians. Far from nobody daring to be present, a the German official had predicted and doubtless hoped these services were exceedingly well attended every Sun day, as was also a quiet informal gathering for prayer ever morning and evening throughout the week. Also n books were destroyed, and no one apostatized, even th newest of the converts coming out boldly on the side o Christianity, although they knew that there were Moham medan spies watching them and ready to report as t their intercourse with the English Mission. Even th ordinary natives were never more friendly than durin this time ; the veranda of the missionaries' houses wer crowded with them at all hours of the day, the chief o some district or other constantly appearing to assur them of his sympathy and his regret that missionary work was stopped, and announcing the intention of both him self and his people to resume their " reading " as soon a these troubles were over. The missionaries, of course took the greatest care never to discuss politics with th people, and to avoid giving the Germans the slightes grounds for accusing them of any sort of propaganda against the Government.

What has been said above about the complete closing down of all missionary work applies more to Ugogo than Ukaguru. The German official at Dodoma had no juris-diction in the latter country, and the missionaries working there found their movements much less restricted than did their fellow-workers on the other side of the Mission. For

some months the former were able to continue a great deal of their work and to keep in touch with their teachers who were doing the same in the out-stations, as their district officer had not ordered the discontinuance of their missionary activities as was the case in Ugogo. At the same time there were many difficulties which greatly hindered the carrying on of the work, such as the danger to the natives of gathering in large numbers for schools or classes with the many spies there were around reporting all their movements. It was, therefore, soon deemed prudent by the missionaries to restrict the work for the most part to Sunday services and to the pastoral care of the Christians. They were, however, able to continue the administration of Holy Baptism long after the missionaries in Ugogo were strictly forbidden to do so. The object of the Germans seems to have been to allow no more natives to be added as converts to the Mission.

It is interesting to notice the various ways in which the different German officials interpreted the same government order, and it throws a good deal of light on the question of individual responsibility for much that has happened during this war.

In September, 1914, a missionary belonging to the Berlin Society offered to visit the missionaries of the C.M.S. and discuss with them whether his Society could help them in any way. Permission was granted by the German official to those living in Ugogo to meet this missionary at Buigiri, the residence of the Rev. E. W. Doulton, the local secretary of the C.M.S. A conference was held as to the possibility of the Berlin Mission assuming responsibility for the C.M.S. work during the war, in which case there seemed some hope that the German Government might allow it to be resumed. But there were grave difficulties in the way of this, one of them being the financing of the Mission. The Berlin Mission was not at all well-off for funds, while the coffers of the C.M.S. were nearly empty. Eventually it was decided that the Berlin Mission should not attempt anything in this way,

but that they should confine their good offices to obtaining as much protection as possible for the Christians of the C.M.S. Mission, and especially for the teachers, securing permission for them, if possible, at least to worship God unmolested. Personal help was also given at this time to some of the missionaries, this member of the Berlin Society selling them a quantity of wheatmeal grown by his mission, and purchasing for them other necessaries which they were not able to procure for themselves. He also lent the C.M.S. secretary a small sum of money from his own private purse, which was a welcome help at that time. (This was repaid to him later through the German Government after the missionaries were interned.) It is a pleasure to be able to record these acts of brotherly kindness and friendship on the part of the Rev. Karl Nauhaus, of the Berlin Missionary Society.

On 8 January, 1915, the C.M.S. missionaries had the pleasure of welcoming at the different stations of the Mission ten women missionaries belonging to the U.M.C.A. These ladies were removed from their stations near the coast by the German Government, and after a most trying journey on foot, during which they endured great hardships, they were brought to the mission stations in Ukaguru and Ugogo, where they lived with the C.M.S. missionaries until all alike were interned in the latter part of May of that year.

In the beginning of January, 1915, the German Government began to oppress the Christians belonging to the Mission. The chiefs had been warned early, under penalty of severe punishment, on no account to let their people have anything to do with the teachers, and to close all the schools in their districts. The Government now, however, went a step farther and arrested two teachers from Handali, an out-station of Mvumi in Ugogo. These two were removed from their homes by night, and their friends were left quite ignorant as to their whereabouts. It seems clear that the only reason for this was that they had been accustomed to meet together in the house of one of their number every night and morning for prayer.

This being reported by spies, was construed as constituting an illegal gathering. About the same time no less than eight of the teachers belonging to the out-stations of Bokwa in Ukaguru were arrested by the local African officials, who were all Mohammedans, and, with their hands tied behind their backs, were taken to Handeni, the government centre. They seem to have been detained there until the capture of that place by the British, when all but two of them were released; up to the present time nothing has been heard of these two.

Through the native government officials the influence of Islam was very strong in Ukaguru at this time, and very hostile to the Mission. Great excesses were committed by these petty native rulers, whom the circumstances of war and Germany's desire for Mohammedan help had invested with a little extra power and authority. An African teacher at one of the out-stations narrowly escaped being shot by them, while his out-station and church were looted and burnt, and some chiefs, friendly to the Mission, were ill-treated and imprisoned. In fact these officials seem to have brought about a reign of terror in Ukaguru; so that most of the people fled into the recesses of the forest for safety.

CHAPTER XII

ALL MISSIONARIES INTERNED

IT was in May, 1915, that the Government of German East Africa decided to intern all English subjects still at quasi-liberty in their colony. Of course a great many had been in internment camps since the beginning of the war, especially those whose plantations or mission stations were near the frontier or in the coast region; but the C.M.S. sphere being almost in the centre of the colony, it was not until the above date that their missionaries were

interned. The arrests were effected by German non-commissioned officers with native soldiers. These were sent round to the different mission stations, whence they took the missionaries to Kiboriani, the C.M.S. sanatorium, which had been commandeered by the Germans and turned into an internment camp. For those living in Ugogo this meant a short railway journey and two long tramps on foot before reaching their destination. The missionary party from Ukaguru was taken by caravan, being allowed to use their own camp furniture and means of transport for the journey, but the camp equipment was commandeered by the German Government on the arrival of the party at Kiboriani. The German non-commissioned officers who brought the different missionary parties to the internment camp were quite decent fellows and did as much as they could for their comfort, but they had absolutely no resources at their disposal, and the Government, and not they, were to blame for the lack of transport for the ladies belonging to the Ugogo stations.

Soon after the removal of the missionaries German officials visited the various mission stations and commandeered whatever property or personal effects of the missionaries they considered would be of any use to them. They obtained by this means a considerable quantity of European stores, including a good supply of kerosene oil, while the original owners were in the internment camps living on native food of a very inferior kind supplied to them by the Government, and deprived of all light at night unless they could purchase a small quantity of coco-nut oil. The German escort had told the missionaries that there was no need to take anything to the internment camp, as while they were there they would be the Kaiser's guests and would be supplied with everything. Fortunately for them they did not put their trust in princes on that occasion, but took all they were allowed to take of necessaries from their stations, otherwise they would have fared badly.

Each prisoner of war at Kiboriani was provided with the top or bottom storey of a "double-decker" bed, made of rough poles with coarse rope stretched across, two blankets, a fourth or sixth share, as the case might be, of a small room, and a similar claim on a bucket and wash-basin. Such things as mattresses, pillows, and towels the Germans either forgot or did not consider necessary.

The buffet or restaurant was an open grass shed, quite dry inside when there was no rain, as dew at least never came through it! It afforded sufficient accommodation for all if they sat close together, which, as the cold on the mountain-top was sometimes intense and the shed was open on one side to all weathers, was not a bad thing to do. The strain on the seating accommodation was rather severe, and at times it broke down, but an old box or something could generally be found! The supply of table utensils only allowed of a plate, mug, knife, fork, and spoon for each person, but there was an advantage in this—it saved washing-up, which the prisoners had to do for themselves, no servants being allowed except the cook. It does not take very long to enumerate the different viands supplied in this internment camp, the authorities apparently believing in the "simple life." Native flour made from *wuwele*, a very inferior kind of millet, and very tough meat formed the staple food. The only drink provided was extremely weak coffee, which, if not palatable, at least hurt nobody's nerves! There was a very small supply of milk, which provided a minute portion of butter for each person. The skimmed milk was kept for the coffee. The only seasoning provided was salt, which was generally supplied in sufficient quantities, though it did run out once or twice. No vegetables, sugar, or groceries were supplied, and of these the prisoners only had what they could provide for themselves. One of the missionaries obtained permission from the guard to send to his station for fresh vegetables from time to time, and when they came this German official took a very large share of them for his private use. What remained was greatly valued by the prisoners.

The head guard was a man quite unfitted to have charge of a camp, most of the occupants of which were women. His manners and general conduct were quite the reverse of gentlemanly, and nothing appeared to please him more than when he had it in his power to humiliate one of the prisoners, as often as not a woman, in the presence of the native soldiers, on which occasion he would bellow forth with his raucous voice like a veritable bull of Bashan. On the contrary a junior guard who was there for a time, named Herr Schenk, was very pleasant to everybody, and often went out of his way to do kind acts, and life at Kiboriani was much more bearable after he came. All the actual guarding was done by native soldiers, who were posted about inside the camp with loaded rifles, one sitting all night in the centre of the compound nodding over his huge camp-fire. They were not bad fellows in their way, and would have been as respectful as most East Africans are to the European if they had not been encouraged either deliberately, or at least by the behaviour of the Germans themselves, to be rude to the English "schwein," as they called them. Orders were generally given to the prisoners through these native soldiers, and they had to be obeyed at all times—indeed it not infrequently happened that a man was punished for being "rude" to a native soldier. This sort of indignity was one of the most trying features of life in the camp, and it is not an unfair conclusion to draw from it that the Germans were deliberately trying to degrade the English and lower their prestige, even though by doing so, as they must have known, they were running the risk of irreparably damaging that of the whole white race in Africa.

An Englishman's faculty for seeing the humorous side of things is a great asset in a German internment camp, and it often keeps him from being down in the dumps. Things are really only annoying when we allow them to vex us, and they are often seen to have an amusing side if we try to find it. It is extremely funny to be told when to get up in the morning, to be made to sit for so many hours

RAIN MAKERS WHO HAVE GIVEN UP AND BROKEN THEIR MEDICINE POTS

of the day cutting out little bits of wood into something called boot-pegs which can never be of the slightest use, to be obliged to play games for two hours every afternoon lest any should suffer from lack of exercise, and to be put to bed as soon as the sun goes down. There was also something quite humorous in the German habit of posting on a notice-board long laudatory accounts of victories, often purely imaginary, and expecting intelligent Englishmen to believe such preposterous nonsense. At the same time the utter absence of reliable news and of letters from home was a little hard to bear.

"Reprisals" were constantly being made on the prisoners in this camp for "something" which the English had done in some other part of the world. The internment of the missionaries was in itself a "reprisal," for the Germans announced that they were reluctantly obliged to take this step because the English somewhere or other were treating German missionaries similarly. After a time an order came from head-quarters that all the prisoners, both men and women, were to work six hours a day for the Government because, they said, the English had imposed the same rule on German prisoners. A large plank was sent to the camp and the prisoners had to cut up this piece of timber into minute pieces of wood, three-quarters of an inch long and of the thickness of a match, for boot-pegs. No tools were provided except a small saw, the prisoners having to use their table-knives. Of course it was impossible with such tools, or rather the lack of them, to make a neat job, and the result was not exactly a success or an asset to the boot trade, and eventually other employment was found. The women prisoners were required to make underclothing for the German soldiers, and later on to knit socks for them. A few sets of wooden needles were supplied at the beginning, but when these broke the men had to make others. Some of the missionaries protested against this work on the ground that, added to all the other duties, such as washing of clothes and cleaning rooms, no time was left for religious

observances. This was a situation which exactly suited the guard, who prided himself on his powers of organization. "I understand," he said, "you want time to pray; that is easily arranged." He drew up a time-table for the day, starting at 6 in the morning, which was "get up" time, and ending at 6.30 in the evening, which was roll-call and bed, by which he got in the six hours' work besides meal-times and two hours' compulsory exercise, as well as the other duties and three separate half-hours in which to *beten* (pray).

English cruisers were all this time blockading the coast of German East Africa, and as a reprisal no parcels of food were allowed to come into the protectorate for the English prisoners, and for the same reason no mails from home reached those in the internment camp. No doubt the blockade did press hardly on the Germans in many ways, but it is quite certain they were able nearly all that time to get their mails regularly, as well as many other things, through Portuguese East Africa. Also on three separate occasions blockade-runners got through, bringing ship-loads of necessaries, besides arms and ammunition.

At the beginning of this period of confinement at Kiboriani husbands and wives were separated owing to the crowded condition of the building in which the prisoners were housed. Eventually an application was made to the authorities by the four married couples for permission to build mud and wattle huts for themselves, and after a little delay this was granted. They were wretched places, only ten feet square, with mud walls and floors, and grass roofs which leaked like a sieve when it rained, but at least they afforded a certain degree of privacy and the comfort of husband and wife being together, which more than made up for any discomfort or inconvenience.

Another very great cause for thankfulness was the regular Sunday services with the Holy Communion, which were made possible all the time, as well as opportunities for Morning and Evening Prayer during the week. In the frequently trying circumstances incidental to that

sort of life, and the presence sometimes of actual danger, it was a great joy and strength to meet together round the Lord's Table and be reminded there of all that *He* suffered on our behalf. The grand old church services were peculiarly precious to those thus shut up from all outside help, and some of the petitions in the Litany gained a meaning quite new. These services also helped to remind them of all those in the homeland who they felt sure were remembering them daily at the Throne of Grace, and at the same time brought home the fact that, severed though they were by space and their peculiar circumstances, they were yet one body united to one common Head, Whom at that very time perhaps all were worshipping.

CHAPTER XIII

CHANGES AND CHANCES

THE beginning of February, 1916, saw the removal of the internment camp from the heights of Kiboriani to the plains of Ugogo. It was a great disappointment. Kiboriani had its drawbacks as an internment camp, and at times was very cold, but the inconveniences associated with it were known, and had to some extent been overcome, or at least had ceased to rub, and most of the prisoners felt they would far rather "bear the ills they had than fly to others that they knew not of." It was, therefore, rather a sad and woebegone advance guard which left the place about 3 a.m. that February morning, stumbling in the dark down the steep and rugged mountain path on the twenty-five mile journey to the railway-station of Gulwe, where they were to entrain for Kikombo, the nearest point to the C.M.S. mission station of Buigiri, commandeered for the new internment camp.

At Mpwapwa fort a halt of an hour was made, and while the German guard went inside and refreshed himself, he left his band of English prisoners sitting on the ground

outside the gate in the care of the native soldiers. This fort of Mpwapwa seemed to be full of sailors from the "Königsberg," who sauntered up in groups to gaze at the English women, sitting like natives on the bare ground munching the "hard tack" which they had brought in their pockets, the remains of a hasty breakfast snatched at Kiboriani in the small hours of the morning. A start was again made from Mpwapwa, and after another tiring tramp of from three to four hours in the heat of the day, about noon the party straggled in to Gulwe. Those who got in first, having outdistanced their guards, were fortunate in being able to procure at an Indian shop just outside the place some lumps of black, colonial-made sugar, which were a great treat! The veranda of the *dak* bungalow afforded shelter for all from the sun, and the porters coming in with the baskets of food which had been brought along, a scratch meal was partaken of, picnic fashion. Before this was properly finished a party of Germans, including the Governor's wife, rode in on horseback, and the English women who had taken possession of one of the rooms in the building were hastily cleared out to make room for them.

The heat at Gulwe was intense, for the place lies low, and is surrounded by sun-bleached bush which, while affording no shade at all, shuts out whatever breeze there may be in the open. After a tiresome wait, a much-belated goods-train came along, and the prisoners were put into some luggage vans, with some of their boxes for seats, while the German guard lolled at one end of the truck in a comfortable arm-chair which he had brought along with him. On the journey to Kikombo this official was most amiable, and after making a heavy lunch of fowl and hard-boiled eggs with good white bread which his native servant had brought for him, he distributed what was left among the prisoners in his care. He then played them some tunes on his violin, which, as he was quite musical, helped to pass the time more pleasantly. It is an interesting study in psychology how this man

whom nature had endued with some appreciation of harmony, and whose very face was transformed under the influence of the sweet strains which he made on his beloved fiddle, could be in other respects so utterly lacking in all the finer feelings and emotions. It was the middle of the rainy season, and the plains between Gulwe and Kikombo across which the railway track winds were in many places under water, and countless flocks of duck, geese, and other kinds of water-fowl filled these swampy places, hardly seeming to be disturbed by the train rushing past. The prisoners could not help envying the wild freedom they were enjoying, while some of them remembered with longing the time when in similar places a lucky shot provided a supper of roast duck!

Arriving at Kikombo the party and their luggage were detrained, and a tramp of some two hours in the cool of the evening brought them to Buigiri, where they arrived after dusk. The first sight of the mission station was not a pleasant one. There were no merry laughing crowds of African Christians to meet the travellers such as in happier times never failed to greet new arrivals. A thick fence of "wait-a-bit" thorn surrounded the whole mission premises, and a guard-room was built just outside the gateway which led through the thorns into the interior of the compound. The soldiers, who had been here about a week getting this *boma* constructed, stood about, and these, together with the cowed aspect of the few natives who dared to peep through their doors at the prisoners as they passed, gave a fair indication of the means by which that thorn fence had been made. The remains of the food brought provided a scanty evening meal, and the thirty-five miles in all which had that day been marched under sufficiently trying circumstances induced most to do little else afterwards except put up their beds.

The next few days were very busy, as a great deal had to be done in a short time to prepare this mission station to accommodate forty Europeans. The church was selected as a dining-room, and the large school,

built with Pan-Anglican funds, provided accommodation for a goodly number of the women prisoners, a small classroom being given to each of the married couples; while later on three mission "sisters" were glad to occupy the old donkey-house of the Mission, as giving them more privacy than they had been able to get in the school. The main body of prisoners arrived a few days later, after similar experiences on the road, somewhat mitigated in the getting-off in the morning and the food provision for the journey by the fact that the "nice" junior guard had charge of that party.

Life at Buigiri was much the same as at Kiboriani, the same rules and petty annoyances prevailing, while it took a little time to settle down in the new surroundings and get accustomed to the many inconveniences. A small increase in the party was made here, ten Italians being transferred from Kilimatinde. The health of the prisoners was not as good as it had been at Kiboriani, owing to the crowded condition of the camp and the heat of the plains, while the latter made it increasingly difficult to eat the coarse food provided. The church having been taken for a dining-room, there was absolutely nowhere to hold divine service; therefore, since it was too hot to stand out in the sun, application was made for permission to put up a native building to serve as a church. After the usual delays this was granted, and building wood was purchased from the natives, but for a time there seemed little hope of getting any workmen as the Government were collecting all the available men to make a military road to Handeni. One afternoon the missionaries turned out and began to dig the post holes, the women soon losing a quantity of skin from their fingers through scraping the hard, stony soil, there being no tools with which to work. This was too much for the kind feelings of the already-mentioned junior guard, and some native workmen were provided at once. In this way the church was built, and many happy hours were spent in it by these homeless exiles, worshipping their heavenly Father.

About this time it began to be rumoured persistently that the English were doing something in the north of the colony, round about Kilima Njaro. Nothing in the past had been more elusive or disheartening to the prisoners than these rumours which many times raised eager hopes for a day or two, only to shatter them again by failing to materialize. In spite of this "rumour-weariness" which prevailed generally, a feeling began to get abroad that at last something was really moving, though it was still uncertain if the English had come or whether the Germans were organizing an invasion of British East Africa! At length, however, all doubt was dispelled by an official admission that Moshi had been evacuated, as well as Taveta, and it became certain that an English army had entered the colony from the north. After this nothing more was heard for a long time beyond "rumours" which the guard tried to circulate, that the English were driven out again, until suddenly a report came that they had occupied Kondoa-Irangi.

Buigiri was only some eighty miles from this place and directly in the line of march by which the British would come to get possession of the central railway. The prisoners had but little time to speculate on the probable chances of patrols discovering and capturing the camp, as almost immediately an order came for the removal of the whole party to Tabora. On the Saturday before Easter Day, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the senior guard suddenly announced that in half an hour all were to start for Kikombo railway station, and that no luggage beyond one box might be taken by anybody. Clothes and necessaries were hastily packed, and when not more than half the time given had elapsed, a roll call was ordered and the prisoners were required to form into line preparatory to being marched off.

A strange and motley caravan started that evening for Kikombo. A certain number of natives had been rounded up at short notice by the soldiers and were struggling along under their loads; the Europeans were carrying all

they possibly could, and one missionary at least was seen staggering along weighted down by a burden as great as a caravan porter's load, while two women were bravely trying to get a baby along in a perambulator already over-full with a miscellaneous collection of things, the native soldiers all the time hurrying everybody along the road. It was well after dark when the whole party arrived at Kikombo, where they were at once taken to a galvanized iron shed in the station-yard, which was used as a corn-store and was half full of sacks of corn. The fifty Europeans, together with forty odd native prisoners, were shut into this building for the night, and nobody was allowed out for any purpose whatever. No food of any kind was provided, and no sleeping accommodation, those who could find floor space just lying down on the bare ground as best they could.

Everybody was in high spirits during this hasty removal, as it was generally felt it could only be occasioned by fear of the English cutting the line to the west, and consequently discomfort counted for very little. The native soldiers also seemed strangely excited, and those guarding the building outside talked so incessantly and made so much noise that on that account alone it would have been impossible for any one to sleep. One of the prisoners was rash enough to call out requesting them to be quiet, and the German guard hearing of it pretended that mutiny among the prisoners was imminent. Hitherto it had been comedy, but now it began to look as if tragedy might come. After a violent tirade of abuse, in which he exhausted his fairly extensive vocabulary of vile epithets against the English, he told the two native soldiers who were guarding the prisoners inside the building to load their rifles and, if any one spoke or even moved during the remainder of the night, to open fire.

Morning came, but there was not much relief. As the sun got hot the crowded state of this iron building and lack of ventilation made it intolerable, and at the risk of again rousing the Teutonic ire a petition was sent asking that the

doors and windows might be opened. After a time this was granted, and later, in response to another request, some food was brought, which was the more welcome as the last had been partaken of at Buigiri, nearly twenty-four hours before. There were, of course, no utensils available, but a foot-bath containing fat pork and another with rice were passed round, and the famished prisoners used their fingers and hands instead of knives, forks, and plates. It was necessary to appeal to the guard for permission to go outside from time to time, and this he granted, but insisted on a black soldier as escort in every case.

In this way Easter of 1916 was spent. Although a service could not be held, and the Holy Communion was impossible, the day was not allowed to pass without these " prisoners and captives " reminding themselves of the sacred season by singing all the Easter hymns they knew. In the evening a train came along, not comprised of first-class carriages, but just luggage-wagons, into which the prisoners were put with two native soldiers in each to guard them, and a start was made for Tabora, where the party arrived after a journey of thirteen hours. The sight on the platform of Tabora station was a strange one when this weary and dishevelled company alighted from the train and were drawn up there for roll call; and later, when they were marched to the internment camp, many curious Germans came out of their houses to gaze at them as they passed. Of course word had not been sent that so large a party was to be provided for, and nothing had been prepared, and it was only after a long delay that a breakfast of German sausage and bread in limited quantities could be obtained. This was but the second meal partaken of during the many weary hours since leaving the camp at Buigiri.

A great many of the prisoners' boxes left at Buigiri were afterwards sent on to Tabora, but numerous things left behind owing to the hurried departure were never seen again, and many precious possessions, such as books and photographs, which it had been possible to keep until then were lost at that time.

CHAPTER XIV

THINGS WHICH HAPPENED AT TABORA

TABORA had been a military internment camp, and although, with the exception of a few sick and disabled cases, the soldiers and sailors had all been sent elsewhere to make room for the civilians, military discipline prevailed there more than at the two other camps. Roll call was three times a day, and the prisoners were locked in their rooms every night, and the hats and boots of the men were taken away. For some time two armed native soldiers walked up and down between the beds in the men's dormitory all night, but eventually this was discontinued. Occasional surprise visits were paid. An officer with an escort would suddenly fling open the door in the middle of the night and march in, flashing lanterns on the beds and round the room to see that everything was in order. The married couples were each given a cubicle in a long corrugated iron building which formed the married people's quarters, some of which were match-boarded, while others had just the bare iron for walls. As the partitions were only the height of a sheet of iron, and above this they were open all along, the lack of privacy was distinctly trying; and very little quiet could be obtained as the inmates of one cubicle owned a rather noisy baby! The accommodation, however, given to these married couples was preferable to the long corrugated iron dormitories in which the single people were housed, with their beds touching along both sides of the gangway!

A great deal of work had been exacted in this camp from the prisoners of war, and Englishmen had been compelled to drag a cart about the streets of Tabora as if they were horses. After the party from Buigiri arrived this still went on to a great extent, and they were expected to help to drag a water-cart to and from the well, somewhat less than a mile away, which supplied the camp with water; while others were given the work of sterilizing this water by boiling it as a safeguard against enteric.

Other Europeans were expected to do carpenters' work, and a tannery was also worked by these civilian prisoners. The women were at first told that they were to continue their work of knitting socks as they had done at the other two camps, but when the commandant was appealed to on the subject he admitted that women prisoners of war could not rightly be made to work, and he suggested that perhaps they would like to continue this occupation as an act of charity for the German soldiers. The ladies, however, did not feel under any obligation to supply in this way the same foot-wear which they had been for many months *compelled* to make, and so the matter dropped, and after that they were not required to work for the Government. About this time an order came from head-quarters that men in holy orders were in future to be exempt from work, and were not to form up in line at roll call. Three of the clergy, however, continued for the greater part of the time to boil the drinking water for the camp.

Tabora was in many ways preferable to the other camps. Discipline was stricter, but things were better managed, and there was a commissioned officer over the camp as commandant, to whom the prisoners could appeal. The food at Tabora was distinctly better: the bread, though still made largely of millet, was light and properly cooked, being made by a baker in the town, while that which had been supplied at the two former places was not bread at all, and was never made with raising material of any kind. The quantity of bread supplied was not nearly enough, but the dried peas or beans generally served for dinner and supper made up the shortage, though these were very often burnt or insufficiently cooked. Sweet potatoes sometimes took the place of these latter, and were a great treat, and they would have been still more appreciated had the cook taken the trouble to remove the skins or even to wash off the dirt before cooking them! Meat was plentiful, but of poor quality, being the scraps from the market in the town and occasionally not too fresh; it was always stewed in exactly the same way, and the very monotony after a time

made it almost nauseating. Rice was sometimes given, but this was either distinctly musty or so full of small pieces of granite that it went by the name of "stone-quarry." There was always soup, but as the filthy pot in which it was made stood in the yard, and besides being extremely uninviting to look at was never allowed to boil long enough to give any strength to the concoction, most people avoided it and made their meal off the one course. The drink supplied was coffee, fairly strong, but it was made in old kerosene oil tins, into which the native boys' hands went as they carried them over from the kitchen to the dining-shed. No milk or sugar was supplied in the camp. On the whole the chief complaint about the food was the dirty, unappetizing way in which it was cooked and served up, resembling much more a mess provided for pigs than a meal served to Europeans!

Perhaps what was most valued at Tabora was a small shop in the camp kept by the contractor who supplied and cooked the food. Whatever fruit was in season could generally be bought there, though only in small quantities, and after the many months spent at Kiboriani and Buigiri without fruit of any kind the prisoners took full advantage of this opportunity. Extra bread could also be bought, and sometimes cheese, butter, black colonial sugar, honey, and even sweet cakes. Of course prices were most exorbitant. Milk could occasionally be bought at this shop, but the quality was poor and there was never less than 50 per cent. water. All the prisoners' money had been taken from them by the Government, and payment was made by means of a "chit" or pay-note which the Government honoured up to the extent of the deposit which they held. As they paid this contractor in the notes they had printed to serve as currency during the war, he probably felt somewhat uncertain of their future value, and this no doubt was one of the reasons for his high prices. With all its drawbacks this shop was a real help to the prisoners, especially as no parcels of food were at any time allowed to be sent to them from outside.

In this camp there were at one time as many as 130 Europeans. The situation was distinctly unhealthy, and in the rainy season mosquitoes infested the place, with the consequent malaria. There was naturally a good deal of sickness. Great credit is due to the nurses of the U.M.C.A. for the painstaking way in which they cared for the sick. A hospital was arranged for the serious cases which could not be dealt with in the ordinary dormitories, and two of these ladies were always on duty as the recognized nurses of the camp. It is not too much to say that some of the prisoners owe their lives to the care thus bestowed upon them.

Rumours were plentiful in the camp and were of the usual disappointing kind, but amusing and even exciting incidents were not lacking. One such was provided when the German Government suddenly discovered that Italy was not at war with Germany, and that the Italians ought never to have been interned. They were all called up one Sunday morning and told that they must leave the camp at once. Most of them had nowhere to go, their homes being in the coast towns, and Germany, even although she was not at war with Italy, would not allow them to go there or, as it turned out later, to leave the vicinity of Tabora. The excitement for a time ran very high, especially when they found that all they were to get out of their so-called freedom was the privilege of providing themselves with board and lodging in the town, instead of living in the internment camp and having food of a kind supplied to them by the Government! Many declared that they would not go out until they could return to their homes in peace—the Government had arrested and interned them for more than a year, and now they would stay where they were! In the end they were forced to leave the camp, and with their Consul, Signor Amoretti, found lodgings for themselves in Tabora. This incident illustrates in a striking way the German mentality at this period of the war.

As time went on and the invaders closed in on all sides,

the guards became slack over many things. Indian prisoners of war had for some time taken the place of the Europeans on the water-cart, and work of all kinds gradually ceased. Even roll call was often poorly attended, though individual guards made frantic efforts to prevent slackness in discipline, and there was still the danger of being put into the cells for three days' "strenger arrest," which meant being in darkness all the time. One day a special roll call for women was held, and the commandant came and informed them that the Germans were greatly distressed at the thought of holding women as prisoners of war! They therefore proposed that these should be given their freedom, and that they should live just outside the camp in an available schoolroom. Three of the women consented to go, but all the rest absolutely refused to do so on the ground that their safety would not be assured if they lived there alone, cut off from the Englishmen who were responsible for their protection. In the end the three who were willing to go went and lived at the school, and a clergyman and a lay brother were allowed to go with them as protectors.

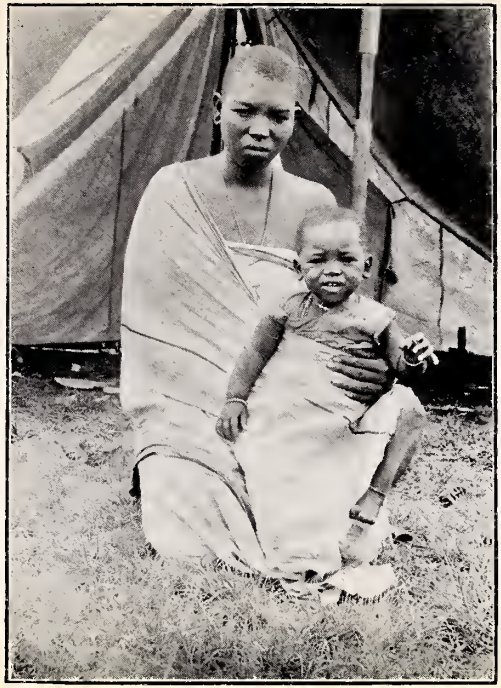
About a month later the question was again raised; by this time the German susceptibilities had progressed still farther, and they had discovered that they were wrong in interning men in holy orders and doctors, as well as women, and they proposed therefore to send all the missionaries out of the camp along with the women. The missionaries to a man were opposed to this, preferring to share whatever had to be borne by the other civilians, but protests were of no avail. The officials said they could not be held as prisoners of war any longer and must be set at liberty, but that they would have to reside in little native huts or in the above-mentioned school-house just outside the camp, and report themselves every week, while each meal time the native boys would bring them their food from the camp. Early next morning a crowd of native prisoners came and removed their goods and chattels to the new lodgings provided for them. It was

a funny sight to see the German guards lifting their hats to these aforetime prisoners so as to keep up the fiction that they were so no longer. They were allowed to walk about anywhere in the town, but had to report themselves at the fort every week. All went well for ten days, and then suddenly one evening an order came that all were to return forthwith to the camp. Native prisoners again turned up, and the beds and boxes were carried back into the old quarters within the barbed wire fence. The reason given for this change of policy was that negotiations were going on for handing them over to the British, and so they must be quarantined for one month before being allowed to leave the protectorate. This month passed and still nothing further was heard; so one morning a deputation waited on the commandant to ask him what he proposed to do next. He said he was sorry, but a hitch in the matter seemed to have occurred, as a telegram had been received which he would read to them. This telegram was supposed to have come from the captain of a corvette on the Victoria Nyanza, who signed himself "Lwau," stating that the sender had no instructions to take over any English prisoners, and so could not do so. The whole thing was so palpably a hoax that the missionaries told the commandant they did not believe there had ever been any question of sending them out of the colony or any purpose in the month's quarantine; as they had already been told they were free, why keep them any longer in the camp? After a great deal of discussion and interviews with the chief government secretary it was arranged that they should go out of the camp and live where they were before, only this time with an allowance with which to buy their own food. Some of their African teachers were to be allowed out of the native camp during the day to wait on them, because it was not reasonable to expect free persons to do their own work. The Germans were, however, careful to explain that this breaking of the quarantine would make them ineligible for repatriation should the English at some future time agree to have them!

Not very long after this farce had been enacted, guns were really heard in the distance, and it soon became evident that a battle was in progress. All night the guns were deafening, and for the greater part of the next day. In the afternoon the missionaries went a little way outside the town whence they could see the flashes of the guns, and they met the wounded soldiers streaming in from the battlefield. The Germans seemed to be getting the worst of it, and hopes were high that the next day would see the release of the prisoners. The Germans appear to have thought the same and prepared to evacuate the place, even putting up the white flag. Towards night, however, the advance guard of the Belgian army from the Congo, which was the attacking force, was repulsed, and the Germans had a respite of a few days. On 19 September, 1916, the Belgian main army came up, and the German troops, after being driven back on Tabora, evacuated the town the same night, and the next morning the invaders marched in and took possession. That day will never be forgotten by the little band of English exiles who mustered there in the streets of Tabora to welcome the brave Belgian army. Of course the latter had not expected to find any English prisoners there, and the native soldiers took them all for Germans, one of them remarking as he marched past, "We are coming to kill you to-night; we take no prisoners."

There comes a time in the life of a prisoner of war when he almost feels that it was worth while losing his freedom. It is that precious moment when he has just regained it; for only he who has tasted the bitterness of being led by others "where he would not" can fully enter into the joy of being once more master of his own movements. This feeling, together with intense gratitude to Almighty God Who had brought them safely through all their trials and dangers now almost overwhelmed those who for so long had been "prisoners of hope."

On the Sunday following the entry of the Belgians into Tabora, with the consequent happy release of the prisoners,



A TEACHER'S WIFE AND THEIR CHILD
(This woman was imprisoned in place of her husband)

AFRICAN TEACHER PREACHING TO OUT-PATIENTS AT DISPENSARY

a thanksgiving service was held at the mess of the English officers commanding the Uganda Transport Corps, which was attached to the Belgian army and provided them with carriers. This service was arranged by the Rev. H. A. Brewer, of the Uganda Mission, who had joined this corps as chaplain to the Baganda porters.

General Crewe, with an English army, was quite near, and he now came into Tabora, and arranged for the repatriation of the English prisoners. He also most kindly sent in a supply of provisions for their use. The railway to the east was not wholly in the hands of the English at this time, and much of it was broken up, so it was impossible to send such a large number of prisoners to Dar-es-salam by that route. It was therefore decided that they should travel to Mwanza, at the south of the Victoria Nyanza, cross the Lake to Kisumu, and thence travel by the Uganda railway to Mombasa.

Captain Fenning, D.S.O., who was in charge of the Uganda Transport Corps, was returning with his men to Uganda, and he kindly supplied the needed porters for the caravan journey to Mwanza, and Lieut. Boazman, the second in command, took charge of the caravan, and was indefatigable in looking after the comfort of the party *en route*. After an uneventful and pleasant journey, the last thirty miles of which was made by motor-cars, the party reached the Victoria Nyanza, and while waiting for the steamer were hospitably entertained at the officers' mess, and spent three happy days there as their guests. The s.s. "Winifred" was crowded out when she sailed with these exiles across the Lake to Kisumu, where they were met by Bishop Willis and Colonel Montgomery, commissioner of the British Red Cross, who had made all arrangements for their comfort. The ladies of Kisumu arranged tea for the whole party at the Church Lads' Club, and they were at once conducted there. The room was tastefully decorated with flags and flowers, and the prisoners were almost overcome with the beauty of the place and by the warmth of the truly British welcome.

After a splendid dinner at the *dak* bungalow at the station, sleeping accommodation was provided in the train for all. The next morning a thanksgiving service with the Holy Communion was held in the English church.

Later in the morning another interesting function took place at the aforementioned club-house when, besides refreshments and speeches, practical sympathy was shown by the kind distribution of garments provided by the British Red Cross to relieve the needs of the released prisoners. In the afternoon the party left Kisumu for Nairobi, and upon arrival there Colonel Montgomery made arrangements for everybody's comfort, some being entertained at private houses and others in the Norfolk Hotel. While at Nairobi Sir Henry and Lady Belfield most kindly welcomed them at a garden party at Government House. About a week was spent in this hospitable town, the happiest recollections of which will always be cherished by these returned exiles.

From Nairobi Mombasa was reached after a train journey of a day and a night, and from this port they embarked on their voyage to England. The whole party owe a deep debt of gratitude to Colonel Montgomery and the British Red Cross which he represented for the untiring efforts made for their comfort from the time they arrived at Kisumu until they boarded their steamer at Mombasa.

CHAPTER XV

THROUGH DEEP WATERS

A GREAT deal has been said about the European staff of the German East Africa Mission and their vicissitudes subsequent to the outbreak of war with Germany, and it will naturally be asked what was happening all this time to the African staff and to the Christian Church generally in that colony. From what has been written it will be gathered that very scanty consideration

was shown by the Germans to any English people, whether missionaries or others, found in their colony after August, 1914, and if that was so, what was likely to happen to natives when they were regarded as a source of danger? That the Germans *did* so regard the teachers and converts generally of the English Missions working in their colony is abundantly clear, as is also the fact that nothing done by either the missionaries or the African Christians before or after the declaration of war justified them in forming that opinion.

The fact of the matter was that the German Government were themselves arranging a propaganda against the English by every means at their disposal, which probably included their own Missions; and they could not believe but that the English Government had made preparation for the same and used the English Mission for that purpose. It has been found many times during the war that the Germans invariably accuse other people of the very things they are themselves doing, in that way seeking to find excuse for their own conduct. Something of this sort is the only possible explanation of the absurd as well as brutal attempt which they made to extort under torture from the native teachers confessions of things which they had never done, and to obtain from them by the same means information against the English missionaries which they were quite unable to give.

Almost immediately after the removal of the prisoners of war from Buigiri to Tabora the Government sent their native soldiers to the different mission stations in the Ugogo portion of the Mission. In some cases these seem to have been accompanied by a German official, and sometimes they went alone. Their instructions would appear to have been to collect evidence by every means in their power against the Mission. The first station visited was Buigiri where the internment camp had been. The severe floggings which took place here—the report of which reached other stations—helped to warn some of the teachers of what they might expect, and this gave them

the opportunity to escape and hide themselves. All, however, were not so fortunate, or they considered it their duty to stay at their posts and bear whatever should come; and so, as station after station was visited by these government inquisitors, some teachers were found at each place.

The method employed seems to have been for the soldiers, or European if one was present, to accuse the teacher they had arrested of acts hostile to the Government, and to demand a confession. A certain amount of rough handling accompanied this demand, such as beating about the head with the fist or knocking down. When this failed to produce the desired effect, the teacher was stretched flat on the ground and held there by two men, while a soldier flogged him with a whip made of rhinoceros hide. After fifteen to twenty lashes had been given, a halt was called and the lad again questioned, and if the confession they were trying to extort was not made the flogging was resumed. In this way two teachers belonging to Handali, an out-station of Mvumi, received no less than 110 lashes each, until at length the soldiers decided that it was no use to beat them any longer. This state of things prevailed at all the stations of Ugogo, and upwards of thirty native Christians, nearly all of whom were teachers, were arrested and subjected to some such brutal treatment so that the native soldiers should be able to produce some evidence against the Mission when they returned with their captives to the government station. What they succeeded in extracting under this torture did not amount to much. One old teacher named Yohana, who was in charge of Itumba, an out-station of Buigiri, seems to have become temporarily insane through the brutal treatment he received, and afterwards his wild statements were not credited even by the Germans, although they sentenced him to a term of imprisonment for some imaginary crime.

At Buigiri, Dani, the son of the above-mentioned teacher Yohana, and another lad named Yosiya, who had been Mr. Doulton's cook, were prevailed upon under the floggings

already described to make some more or less connected statements which could be taken down in writing, though from the nature of these it is quite evident that they must have been put into their mouths by the inquisitors. In effect they set forth that these two lads knew that Mr. Doulton and Dr. Westgate, two missionaries who, during the last few years had succeeded one another in charge of Buigiri station, had taught the native teachers there how to signal with looking-glasses in the day-time and with lamps at night, had supplied them with the necessary apparatus for doing this, and given them instructions to get into touch with the English as soon as possible by these means, and give them information about the German movements. The whole story thus extracted by torture from these two poor lads was a pure fabrication, and must have been suggested to them, for they could never have thought of it. Not one of the missionaries had any knowledge of heliography, and so of course could not, even had he wished to do so, have taught it to any natives.

The teachers, as well as these two lads who had confessed, were taken to the government fort, where the teachers were tried by a German judge on the charge of conspiring against the Government. They all protested their innocence, but were told that some had confessed and so they had better do so too. They were steadfast in denying that the missionaries had ever taught them anything besides reading, writing, and so forth, and the tenets of the Christian religion. In some cases they were sentenced to death, and one man was told that his grave was already dug. After the trial they were put into native cells and German officials visited them there and beat them cruelly, knocking them down repeatedly with the object of forcing from them the confessions they refused to make at the trial. These so-called legal proceedings occupied several days, and during all that time these teachers were hourly expecting to be taken off and executed. It is a remarkable testimony to the strength of their religious convictions, which alone prevented them from giving false evidence

against the Mission, that, except in the case of the elderly teacher Yohana, mentioned above, who seems to have quite lost his senses for the time, in no single instance did a *teacher* seek to save his skin by perjuring his soul. The two young lads from whom false confessions were extracted were not teachers, and even in their case they afterwards retracted what they had in the first instance been forced to say.

In the end the Germans were completely baffled by the constancy of these men, but as they had previously made up their minds that the English had started a propaganda by means of their African Christians and teachers, probably, as already stated above, because they were doing this very thing in the English territory, they would not give up the hope of finding something more. Although they did not carry out any of the death sentences, which may have been given only as a means of intimidation, they put the Christians all into chains, just as if they were slaves in the hands of the Arabs in the old slavery days, and conveyed them away to a native internment camp at Tabora, where for many weary months they were working under the lash, with brutal native soldiers over them day and night. On several occasions they were brought in chains into the European internment camp and given the work of sweeping up the compound. Their wretched condition caused additional anguish to the missionaries, who, of course, were quite unable to help them or to do anything to mitigate their hard lot. The vindictiveness of the Germans toward these poor natives, so utterly in their power, is shown by the fact that when they failed to secure Danyeli, the senior teacher of Buigiri, they arrested his wife, and sent her instead with her baby to Tabora, where for many months she was working as a convict with the small infant strapped on her back.

After the missionaries had been for some time at Tabora, Mr. Doulton and Dr. Westgate were suddenly summoned by the commandant, and to their surprise found that they were to be tried by court martial on the charge of having

incited the natives to give information to the English. Of course they denied this completely, whereupon they were confronted with the confessions of Dani and Yosiya. To say that these two missionaries were astonished would be putting it mildly; they protested that they knew absolutely nothing of heliography and so could not have taught it, and had never possessed any apparatus. After a while Yosiya was brought into court as a witness, and then the whole sordid story came out how this poor cook had been beaten until he could stand it no longer, and in his agony, hardly knowing what he did, had assented to the lies which were put into his mouth. But when he saw his late master with the other missionary standing there in court he regained his courage, and told the judge that his supposed confession was a lie extorted under torture, and he would rather be killed than assent to it any longer. Of course the whole case broke down, and the wrath of the judge knew no bounds. Yosiya was given a term of imprisonment for perjury, and the verdict of the court martial seems to have been "Not guilty, but don't do it again," as the accused were never formally acquitted.

When the Germans were preparing to evacuate Tabora, and with that end in view established food depôts along the route by which they meant to retreat southward to the Rufiji River, they used the teachers belonging to the C.M.S. Mission, along with countless other natives, as porters for the carrying of food to these lines of communication, and they were all taken away chained together by the neck. It turned out, therefore, that when Tabora was finally surrendered to the Belgians, and the prisoners of war, both African and European, were released, only about twelve of these teachers were among that happy number. These went with the missionaries as far as Mombasa, from which place they eventually reached their homes. It is, however, a great satisfaction to know that most of the other teachers, whom the Germans took away with them in the manner described, escaped on the road and subsequently made their way to Ugogo. All these

men seem, after their return, on their own initiative to have resumed their work as teachers, and this without any outside help or encouragement. The Christians in every place appear to have rallied round them, and some missionaries from British East Africa, who went there early in 1917 to restart the work, found the different congregations being ministered to by these men, the church services well attended, the schools in a flourishing condition, and large numbers of inquirers and catechumens under regular instruction.

Letters since received from the teachers themselves speak of their joy in being back again in their homes, and their thankfulness to God for taking care of them and restoring them to their families. They tell of great numbers of people joining the inquirers' classes, and the schools being crowded out and the opportunities for work greater than can be coped with.

It is often said that God is able to take care of His own work, no matter what forces may be arrayed against it. When this war started and untoward events followed one after the other in quick succession, faith almost failed and the Mission might have uttered Jacob's cry, "All these things are against me." But "God was working His purpose out," and He will yet overrule even this terrible war for His glory and the progress of His Kingdom in East Africa. But let all who read this remember that He asks for human agents through whom to carry out this work.